

0126

A
T R E A T I S E
CONCERNING
The Right Use
OF THE
FATHERS,
IN THE

Decision of the C O N T R O V E R S I E S
that are at this Day in R E L I G I O N

Written in F R E N C H

B Y

J O H N D A I L L E,

Minister of the Gospèl in the Reformed Church at
P A R I S.

Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruffin.

*Fieri potest, ut vel simpliciter erraverint (Scriptores Ecclesiastici)
vel alio sensu scripserint, vel à librariis imperitiis eorum pau-
latim scripta corrupta sint. Vel certè, antequam in Alexandria
quasi Dæmonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, innocenter que-
dam, & minùs cautè locuti sunt, & quæ non possint perversorum
hominum calumniâ declinare.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for John Martin, and are to be sold by Robert Boulter
at the Turkey Head in Cornhill. M. DC. LXXV.

D/-

M- 147/12

To the Noble LADY,
ANNE MORNAY,
Lady of Tabarriere, and Baroness
of St. Hermine, &c.

M A D A M,

IT is now almost four Tears since that your Son, the late Baron of St. Hermine, acquainting me with what manner of Discourse He was ordinarily entertained at Court, by those who laboured to advance the Roman Religion, the rather to make him disgust the Reformed, told me, That the Chiefest Argument which they urged against him, was, Antiquity, and the General Consent of all the Fathers of the First Ages of Christianity. And although of himself He understood well enough the Vanity of this Argument of theirs; yet notwithstanding, for his own fuller satisfaction, He desired me that I would discover unto Him the very Bottom and Depth of this Business. This therefore I did, as Exactly as possibly I could, and gave Him my Judgment at Large in this Particular: Which Discourse of mine He was pleased to like so well, that conceiving some hopes from thence, that it might happily be of use to others also, I shortly after put Pen to Paper, and digested it into this Treatise You

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

now see. It having therefore been Composed at first for His Service, I had resolv'd also with my self to have Dedicated it to His Name; purposing, by this small Piece of Service, to testifie to the World the Continuation of the Affection I bare to His Progress in Piety. But that deadly Blow which snatch'd Him from us in the Flower of His Age, about two Tears since, at the Famous Siege of Bosleduc, having left us nothing of Him now, save onely the Spoils of His Mortality, and the Memory of His Vertue, together with our Great Sorrow for having enjoyed Him here so short a time; I am constrained, Madam, to change my former Resolution. For, to Dedicate my Book to Him, in the State wherein He now is, in Heaven; following the Example of many, both Ancients, and Modern Writers, who have not stuck to direct their Discourses from hence below, to those whom God hath taken up into Heaven; I cannot perswade my self, that the Practise is either Lawful, or Fit. For, besides the Vanity of the Thing, should we hold Discourse with one, who, being at so great, and almost infinite a Distance from us, cannot possibly hear what we say; I should account it also, if so be He could hear us, a Point of extreme Inhumanity, I had almost said, Impiety, to disturb that Perfect Rest His Blessed Soul now enjoyeth; which hath now no more to do with our Debates or Discourses here below, but sees the Truth now in a most pure Light, and enjoys that Everlasting Bliss wherewith our Saviour hath

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hath out of his Mercy cramm'd His Faith, and Perseverance in the Fear of His Name. I shall therefore content my self with cherishing, and preserving, whilst I live, the precious Memory of His Worth, the Excellency of His Wit, the Soundness of His Judgment, the Sweetness of His Nature, the Fairness of His Carriage; and those other Choice Parts, wherewith He was accomplished; but above all His singular Piety, which clearly shone forth in His Words, and Actions, till the hour of His Death.

And Madam, as for this small Treatise, which was at first conceived and composed for Him, I thought I could not, without being guilty of a piece of Injustice, present it to any other, but Your Self: seeing it hath pleased God, notwithstanding the Common Order of Nature, to make You Heir to Him, to whom it belonged. This Consideration only hath emboldned me to present it to Your Hands; knowing that the Nature of this Discourse is, not so suitable to that Sorrow which hath of late cast a Cloud over Your House; as having pleased God, after the Death of the Son, to deprive You of the Father; and to the Loss of Your Children, to add that also of Your Noble Husband. But, my desire of avoiding the being Unjust, hath forced Me to be thus Uncivilly Troublesome: seeing I accounted it a kind of Theft, should I have any longer withheld from You that which was Your Right, by this Sad Title of Inheritance. Be pleased therefore, Madam, to receive this Book, as a part of the

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Goods

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Good of your Deceased Son; which I now honestly restore, in the view of the whole World, after some times Concealment of it in my Study. This Name, I know, will oblige You to afford it some place in Your Closet, which is all that I can at present desire. For, as for the reading of it, besides that Your Exquisite Piety (which is built upon Infinitely much Firmer Grounds, than these Disputes,) hath no need at all of it; I know also, that Your present Condition is such, as that it would be very Troublesome unto You. And if You shall chance to desire to spend some hours in the Perusal of it; it must be hereafter, when the Lord, by the Efficacy of His Spirit, shall have comforted Yours, and shall have allayed the Violence of Your Grief: to whom I pour out my most earnest Prayers, that He would vouchsafe Powerfully to effect the same; and to shed forth His most holy Grace upon You, and Yours; and that He would by His great Mercy preserve, Long, and Happily, that which remaineth of that Goodly, and Blessed Family, which He hath bestowed upon You. This, Madam, is one of the most Hearty Prayers of

Your most Humble, and

Obedient Servant,

DAILLE.

The Design of the whole WORK.

THE Fathers cannot be the Judges of the Controversies in Religion at this day betwixt the Papist and the Protestant. 1. Because it is, if not an impossible, yet at least a very difficult thing to find out, what their sense hath been touching the same. 2. Because that their Sense and Judgment of these things, (supposing it to be certainly, and clearly understood,) not being infallible, and without all danger of Error, cannot carry with it a sufficient Authority for the satisfying the Understanding; which neither can, nor indeed ought to believe any thing, in point of Religion; but what it knows to be certainly True.

The first of these Reasons is proved by these Mediums following.

I. We have very little of the Writings of the Fathers; especially of the First, Second, and Third Centuries, pag. 1.

II. Those Writings which we have of the Fathers of those times, treat of matters very far different from the Controversies now in hand. p. 3.

III. The Writings, which go under the names of the Fathers, are not all truly such; but are, a great part of them, Supposititious and Forged, either long since, or of later times. p. 11.

IV. Those of the Writings of the Fathers, which are Legitimate, have been in many places corrupted, by Time, Ignorance, and Fraud; both Pious and Malicious, both in the first century and later Ages. p. 34.

V. The Writings of the Fathers are hard to be understood, by reason of the Languages, and Idioms they wrote in; the Manner of their Writing, which is for the most

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part incumbred with Figures, and Rhetorical Flourishes, and nice Logical Subtilties, and the like; and also by reason of the *Termes* which they use the most part used in a far different sense, from what they now bear. p. 69.

VI. When we meet with an Opinion clearly delivered, in the Writings of any of the Fathers, we must not from hence conclude, that the said Father held that Opinion: seeing that we often find them speaking those things, which themselves have not believed; whether it be, when they report the opinion of some other, without naming the persons; (as they frequently do in their Commentaries;) or in disputing against an Adversary; in which kind of Writing they take liberty to say one thing, and believe another: or whether it be that they concealed their own private Opinion purposely, as they have done in their Homilies, meerly in compliance to such a part of their Auditory. p. 100.

VII. Supposing that we are well assured, that a Father hath clearly delivered his Opinion in any Point, we ought notwithstanding to enquire into the time wherein he wrote that Opinion of his, whether it were before, or after he arrived to Ripeness of Judgment. For we see, that they have sometimes retracted in their old age, what they had written when they were young. p. 117.

VIII. But suppose that a Father hath constantly held one Opinion; it will nevertheless concern us to inquire, How he held it, and in what degree of Belief; whether as Necessary, or Probable only: and then again, in what degree of Necessity, or of Probability he placed it: Beliefs being not all equally either Necessary, or Probable. p. 123.

IX. After all this we are to examine, whether or. no he deliver this, as his own particular Opinion only, (for this cannot necessarily bind our faith;) or whether he deliver it, as the Opinion of the Church in his time. p. 136.

X. In the next place it will concern us to enquire, whether he deliver it for the Judgment of the Church Universal, or of some particular Church only: those things which have been received by the Major Part, having not always notwithstanding

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notwithstanding been received by some particular parts of the Church. P. 14.

XI. And after all this, whether you take the Church for the Collective Body of Christians; or only for the Body of the Clergy, or Pastors; it is notwithstanding impossible to know, what the Belief of the whole Church in any Age hath been; for as much as it frequently so falls out, that the Opinions of those Men, who have appeared to the World, have not only not been received, but on the contrary have also been Opposed, and Contradicted by those Members of the same Church, who have not at all appeared to the World; who notwithstanding, both for their Learning, and Piety, deserved perhaps to have had as much, or more Effect, and Authority than the other. P. 151.

The Second Book.

THE second Reason, namely, that neither the Testimony nor the Preaching of the Fathers is altogether Infallible, is proved by these following Considerations. P. 1.

II. The Fathers themselves witness against themselves, that they are not to be believed Absolutely, and upon their own bare word. P. 11.

III. It appeareth plainly, by their Manner of Writing, that they never intended that their Writings should be our Judges. P. 40.

IV. They have erred in divers Points, not only Singly, but also many of them together. P. 69.

V. They have very much contradicted one the other, and have maintained different Opinions, in Matters of great Importance. P. 112.

VI. Lastly, to say the truth, neither Party alloweth them for Judges; but reject them boldly, and without any scruple, both the one and the other; maintaining divers things

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things which the Fathers were ignorant of; and rejecting others, which were maintained by them: the Protestants, in those things, where the Fathers have gone either against, or besides the Scripture; the Church of Rome, where they oppose against them the Resolutions of their Popes, or of Councils. Seeing therefore that both Parties attribute the Supreme Authority to some other Judge, the Fathers, though perhaps their Resolutions should be grounded on Divine Authority, could never be able notwithstanding to clear their Differences, and to reconcile the two Parties. p. 126.

So that it followeth from hence, that our Controversies are to be decided by some other means, than that of their Writings; and that we are to observe the same Method in Religion, that we do in all other Sciences; making use of those things wherein we all agree, for the clearing of those wherein we differ; comparing exactly the Conclusions of both Parties with their Principles, which are to be acknowledged and granted by both sides; whether it be in Reason, or Divine Revelation. And as for the Fathers we ought to read them carefully and heedfully; and especially without any prejudication on either side; searching their Writings for their Opinions, and not for our own: arguing Negatively, concerning those things which we find not in them, rather then Affirmatively; that is to say, holding all those Articles for suspected, which are not found in them; it being a thing altogether Improbable, that those Worthies of the Church were Ignorant of any of the Necessary and Principal Points of Faith: but yet not presently receiving for an Infallible Truth, whatsoever is found in them; for as much as, being but Men, though Saints, they may sometimes have erred, either out of pure Ignorance, or else perhaps out of Passion, which they have not been always wholly free from; as appeareth clearly by those Books of theirs which are left us.

THE

*The Testimonies of the Lord Faulk-
land, Lord Digby, Doctor Tay-
lor, Doctor Rivet, concerning
this learned Book.*

Reader,

THE Translation of this Tract hath been at-
tempted, and often declared by many Noble
Personages of this and other Nations. Among
others by Sir Lucius Cary, late Lord Viscount
Faulkland, who with his dear Friend Mr. Chillingworth
made very much use of it in all their Writings against
the Romanists. But the Papers of that learned Noble-
man, wherein this Translation was half finish'd, were long
since involved in the common loss. Those few which
have escaped it and the press, make a very honourable
mention of this Monique, whose acquaintance the said
Lord was wont to say was worth a Voyage to Paris.
Page 202. of his Reply he hath these words, *This obser-
vation of mine hath been confirmed by consideration of what
hath been so temperately, learnedly, and judiciously writ-
ten by Monsieur Daille, our Protestant-Perron. And what
the same Lord in a Treatise, which will shortly be pub-
lished saith concerning the Popish Perron, viz. Him I can
scarce ever laudare in one sense, that is quote, but I must
laudare in the other, that is praise, who hath helped the
Church to all the advantages which wit, learning, industry,
judgment, and eloquence could add unto her, is as true of
this our Protestant. I shall add but one Lords Testimony
more, viz. the Lord George Digby in his late Letters con-
cerning Religion in these words, p. 27, 28. The reasons
prevailing with me whereon an inquiring and judicious person
should*

should be obliged to rely and acquiesce are so amply and so learnedly set down by Monsieur Daille in his *Employ des Peres*: that I shall not think it material or needless to be said on this subject, that his rare and piercing observation hath not anticipated. Were it needful to wander to Foreigners for Testimonies I could tell you how highly this Author is esteemed by the Learned and Famous Doctor Andr. Rivet, upon whose impromptu this Book des Images and other Tracts Have been translated: but writing to Englishmen I will only name the judicious Doctor Jer. Taylor Libert. of Proph. Sect. 8. n. 4. in these words, I shall chuse such a topick as makes no invasion upon the great reputation of the Fathers, which I desire should be preserved sacred as it ought. For other things let who please read Mr. Daille du vrai usage des Peres.

Et si quis cuculo locus inter Oves, I must ingenuously profess, that it was the reading of this rational Book which first convinced me that my study in the French Language was not ill employed, which hath also enabled me to commend this to the World, as faithfully translated by a judicious hand. And that if there were no other use of the Fathers, there is very much, while, *Listen quem quis adducit pro se, tenetur accipere contra se*, is a rule in reason, as well as Civil Law: and that the works of Card. Perron. (for whose monstrous understanding they are the words of Viscount Faulkland. p. 55.) Bellarmine and Baronius might with most advantage to their party, and no disgrace to them, have been employed in seeking citations being built upon the principle, that whatever the Fathers witness to be tradition and the doctrine of the Church, must be received of all for such and so reason. And this principle being here thoroughly examined. You have here as sufficient a confutation of Perron's Book against K. J. and by consequence of the many quacks of Worcester against K. C. and Dr. P. and other Epitomizers of the Cardinal, as you have of Mr. Cressy in the Preface to the Lord Faulkland, by the learned K. P.

Char. Coll. Aug. 1685

THE PREFACE.

ALl the Difference in Religion, which is at this day betwixt the Church of Rome and the Protestants, lies in some certain Points which the Church of Rome maintaineth as important, and necessary Articles of the Christian Faith: Whereas the Protestants, on the contrary, neither believe, nor will receive them for such. For, as for those things which the Protestants believe, for their part; and which they conceive to be the Fundamentals of Religion, they are so evidently, and undeniably such, as that even their Adversaries themselves do also allow of, and receive them, as well as they: for as much as they are both clearly delivered in the Scriptures, and expressly set down by the Ancient Councils and Fathers; and are indeed unanimously received by the greatest part of Christians in all Ages, and Parts of the World. Such, for example, are these Maxims following: Namely, That there is a God, who is Supreme over all, and who created the Heavens and the Earth. That having created Man after his own Image, this Man, revolting from his Obedience, is fallen, together with his whole Posterity, into most extreme and eternal misery, and became infected with Sin, as with a mortal Leprosie, and is therefore obnoxious to the Wrath of God, and liable to his Curse. That the Merciful Creator, pitying Mankind, graciously sent his Son Jesus Christ into the World: That his Son is God Eternal with him, and that having taken Flesh upon himself in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, and become Man; He hath done and suffered, in this Flesh, all things necessary for our Salvation, having by this means sufficiently expiated for our Sins, by his Blood: and that having finished his labours, he is ascended again into Heaven,

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The Preface.

ven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from whence He shall one day come, to judge all Mankind, rendering to every one according to their Works. That to enable us to communicate of this Salvation, by His Merits, He sendeth us down His Holy Spirit, proceeding both from the Father and the Son, and who is also one and the same God with Them; in such sort, as that these Three Persons are notwithstanding but One GOD, who is Blessed for ever. That this Spirit enlightens our Understanding, and begets Faith in us; whereby we are justified. That after all this, the LORD sent his Apostles, to Preach this Doctrine of Salvation throughout the whole World. That These have planted Churches, and placed in each of them Pastors, and Teachers; whom we are to bear with all reverence, and to receive from them Baptism, the Sacrament of our Regeneration; and the Holy Eucharist, or Lords Supper, which is the Sacrament of our Communion with Jesus Christ. That we are likewise all of us bound to love GOD, and our Neighbour, very fervently; observing diligently that Holy Doctrine which is laid down unto us in the Books of the New Testament, which have been inspired by His Spirit of Truth: as also those other of the Old; there being nothing, either in the one, or in the other, but what is most true. These Articles, and some other few the like, which there perhaps may be, are the substance of the Protestants whole Belief: and if all other Christians would but content themselves with these, there would never be any Schism in the Church. But now their Adversaries add to these, many other Points, which they press, and command Men to believe, as necessary ones, and such, as without believing of which, there is no possible hope of Salvation. As for example: That the Pope of Rome is the Head, and Supreme Monarch of the whole Christian Church throughout the World. That He, or at least the Church which he acknowledgeth a true one, cannot possibly erre in matter of Faith. That the Sacrament of the Eucharist is to be adored, as being really Jesus Christ, and not a piece of Bread. That the Mass is a Sacrifice, that really expiates the Sins of

of

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of the Faithful: That Christians may, and ought to have in their Churches the Images of God, and of Saints, to which they are to use Religious Worship, bowing down before them. That it is lawful, and also very useful, to pray to Saints departed, and to Angels. That our Souls after death, before they enter into Heaven, are to pass through a certain Fire, and there to endure grievous Torments; thus satisfying for their Sins. That one neither may, nor ought to receive the holy Eucharist, without having first confessed himself in private to a Priest. That none, but the Priest himself that consecrated the Eucharist, is bound by right to receive it in both kinds: And a great number of other Opinions, which their Adversaries protest plainly, That they cannot with a safe conscience believe. And these Points are the ground of the whole Difference betwixt them; the one Party pretending, That they have been believed, and received by the Church of Christ in all Ages, as revealed by him: and the other maintaining the contrary. Now seeing that, none of these Tenets having any ground from any Passage in the New Testament (which is the most Ancient and Authentick Rule of Christianity) the Maintainers are fain to fly to the Writings of the Doctors of the Church, which lived within the four or five first Centuries after the Apostles, who are commonly called the Fathers; my purpose is in this Treatise to examine, whether or no this be a good and sufficient means, for the decision of these Differences: And for this purpose, I must first presuppose two things, which any reasonable Person will easily grant me. The first is, That the Question being here about laying a Foundation for certain Articles of Faith, upon the Testimonies or Opinions of the Fathers, it is very necessary that the Passages which are produced out of them, be clear, and not to be doubted of; that is to say, such as we cannot reasonably scruple at, either touching the Author out of whom they are alledged, or the Sense of the Place, whether it signifie what is pretended to. For a Deposition of a Witness, and the Sentence of a Judge, being of no value at all, save onely for the reputation of the Witness;

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or Judge; it is most evident, that if either proceed from Persons unknown, or suspected, they are invalid, and prove nothing at all. In like manner, if the Deposition of a Witness, or Sentence of a Judge be obscure, and in doubtful Terms, it is clear, that in this case the Business must rest undecided; there being another Doubt first to be cleared, namely, What the meaning of either of them was. The second Point that I shall here lay down for a Foundation to the ensuing Discourse, is no less evident than the former; namely, That to allow a sufficiency to the Writings of the Fathers, for the deciding of these Controversies, we must necessarily attribute to their Persons very great Authority, and such as may oblige us to follow their Judgment in Matters of Religion. For, if this Authority be wanting, how clear and express soever their Opinions be, in the Articles now controverted, it will do nothing at all toward their Decision. We have therefore here two things to examine in this Business: The first is, Whether or not we may be able now certainly and clearly to know, what the Opinion of the Fathers hath been touching the Differences now in hand. The second, Whether their Authority be such, as that whatever faithful Person shall clearly and certainly know what their Opinion hath been in any one Article of Christian Religion, he is thereby bound to receive that Article for True. For, if the Church of Rome be not able to prove both these Points, it is then without all dispute, that their Proceeding is good, and agreeable to the End proposed, there being so many of the Ancient Fathers Writings alledged at this day by them. But if, on the contrary side, either of these Two things, or both of them, be indeed found to be doubtful, I should think that any Man of a very mean Judgment, should be able to conclude of himself, That this way of Proof, which they have hitherto made use of, is very insufficient; and that therefore they of necessity ought to have recourse to some other more proper and solid way in the Proof of the Truth of the said Opinions, which the Protestants will not by any means receive.



THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

REASON I. *Touching the Difficulty of knowing the sense of the Fathers, in reference to the present Controversies in Religion; drawn from hence: Namely, Because there is very little extant of Their Writings, for the Three First Centuries.*

IF we should in this particular take the same course, which some Writers of the Church of Rome make use of against the Holy Scriptures, it would be a very easie matter to bring in question, and render very doubtful, and suspected, all the Writings of the Fathers. For, when any one alledgeth the Old or New Testament, these Gentlemen presently demand, How, or by what means they know, that any such Books were truly written by those Prophets, and Apostles, under whose Names they go. If therefore, in like manner, when these Men urge *Justin, Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine*, and the like, one should take them short, and demand of them, How, and by what means they are assured, that these Fathers were the Authors of those Writings, which at this day go under their Names, it is very much to be doubted but that they would find a harder Task of it, than their Adversaries, in justifying the Inscriptions of the Books of Holy Writ; the Truth whereof is much

more

more easie to be demonstrated, than of any Humane Writings whatsoever. But I pass by this too-artificial way of Proceeding, and onely say, That it is no very easie matter to find out, by the Writings of the Fathers, what hath really been their Opinion, in any of those Controversies which are now in debate, betwixt the *Protestant* and the Church of *Rome*. The Considerations which render the knowledge of this so difficult, are many: I shall therefore in this First Part handle some of them onely, referring the rest to the Later, examining them one after another.

The first Reason, therefore, which I shall lay down for the proving of this Difficulty, is, The little we have extant of the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, especially of the First, Second, and Third Centuries; which are those we are most especially to regard. For, seeing that one of the principal Reasons that moveth the Church of *Rome* to alledge the Writings of the Fathers, is to shew the Truth of their Tenets, by the Antiquity, which they reckon as a Mark of it; it is most evident, that the most Ancient ought to be the most taken notice of. And indeed, there is no question to be made, but that the Christian Religion was more pure, and without mixture, in its beginnings and Infancy, than it was afterwards in its Growth and Progress: it being the ordinary course of Things, to contract Corruptions, more or less, according as they are more or less removed from their first Institution: As we see by experience in States, Laws, Arts, and Languages; the Natural Propriety of all which is continually declining, after they have once passed the Point of their Vigour, and, as it were, the Flower and Prime of their Strength and Perfection. Now I cannot believe, that any faithful Christian will deny, but that Christianity was in its Height and Perfection in the time of the Blessed Apostles: And indeed it would be the greatest injury that could be offered them, to say, that any of their Successors have either had a greater desire, or more Abilities,

lities, to advance Christianity, than they had. It will hence follow then, That those Times which were nearest to the Apostles, were necessarily the purest, and less subject to suspicion of Corruptions, either in Doctrine, or in Manners, and Christian Discipline: it being but reasonable to believe, that if there be any Corruptions crept into the Church, they came in by little and little, and by degrees; as it happens in all other things. If any one shall here object, That even the very next Age immediately after the times of the Apostles was not without its Errours, if we may believe *Hegesippus*, who, as he is cited by *Ensebius*, witnesseth, that the Church continued a Virgin till the Emperour *Trajan's* time; but, that after the death of the Apostles, the Conspiracy of Error began to discover itself with open face. I shall not oppose any thing against this testimony; but shall only say, that if the Enemy, immediately upon the setting of these Stars of the Church, their Presence and Light being scarcely shut in, had yet the boldness presently to fall to sowing his evil seed; how much more had he opportunity to do this in those Ages which were further removed from their Times; when as the Sanctity and Simplicity of these great Teachers of the World having now by little and little vanished out of the memories of Men, Humane Inventions, and new Fancies began to take place. So that we may however conclude, That supposing that Christianity, even in the First Ages, hath not been altogether exempt from alteration in Doctrine; yet are they much more free from it, than the succeeding Ages can pretend to be; and are therefore consequently to be preferred before them in all respects: it being here something like what the Poets have fancied of the Four Ages of the World, where the succeeding Age always came

Enseb. Hist. Eccles lib. 3. cap. 29.
 Ως ἀπὸ μύχης τῆς τῶν χερῶν
 παρθένου καθάρου καὶ ἀδιδόχου
 ἔμεινον ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὥς
 δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς ἀποστόλου χρεὼς
 δίδωσεν εὐαγγελίᾳ εἰς τέλος,
 παρεληλύθει τὸ ἡγεῖν ἐκείνη
 τῆς αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὸ ἐκείνη σο-
 φίας ἐπακούσαι καὶ ἡγεμονίαν
 τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀδελφὸν πλάνης
 τῶ ἀρχὴν ἐλαμβάνειν ἢ σίτα-
 σις, διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐτεροδιδασκα-
 λαν ἀπάτης, διὲ καὶ ἀτεμνέει
 ἔτι τῆς ἀποστόλων λειτουργίας,
 γυνὴ λαοὶ καὶ ἡδὲ τῶ κεφαλῇ
 τῶ τῶ ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τῶ
 ἀδελφόντων γινώσκον ἀντικρί-
 τῶν ἀντιχρίτων.

*Cassand. Conf.
sult. Ferdinand.
p. 894.
Perron. Epist.
to Casaub.*

*Cyp. ep. 74.
p. 195.*

came short of the former. For, as for the Opinion of those Men, who think the best way to find out the true Sense of the Ancient Church, will be, to search the Writings of those of the Fathers chiefly who lived betwixt the time of *Constantine* the Great, till Pope *Leo*, or till Pope *Gregory's* time; that is to say, from the end of the Third Century, till the beginning of the Seventh: I take this as a Confession onely of the small number of Books that are left us of those Ages before *Constantine*; and not that these Men allow, that the Authority of these Three later Ages, ought to be preferred to that of the Three former. If we had but as much Light, and as clear Evidences of the Belief of the one, as we have of the other, I make no question but they would prefer the Former. But if they mean otherwise, and are indeed of a persuasion, that the Church was really more pure after *Constantine's* time, than before; they must excuse me, if I think that they by this means confess the distrust they have of their own Cause, seeing they endeavour to get off as far as they can from the Light of the Primitive times; retreating back to those Ages wherein it is most evident there was both less Perfection, and Light, than before: running clean contrary to that excellent Rule which *S. Cyprian* hath given us; That we should have recourse to the Fountain, whenever the Channel and Stream of Doctrine, and Ecclesiastical Tradition is found to be any whit corrupted. But however, let their meaning be what it will, their Words, in my judgment, do not a little advantage the Protestants Cause; it being a very clear confession, That those Opinions about which they contest with them, do not at all appear clearly in any of the Books that were written during the Three First Centuries. For, if they were found clearly in the same, what Policy were it then in them to appeal to the Writers of the Three following Centuries, to which they very well know that their Adversaries attribute less, than to the Former? But besides this tacit Con-

Confession of theirs, the thing is evident; namely, That there is left us at this day very little of the Writings of the Fathers of the Three First Centuries of Christianity, for the deciding of our Differences. The blessed Christians of those times contented themselves, for the greatest part of them, with writing the Christian Faith in the hearts of Men, by the beams of their Sanctity, and holy Life, and by their Blood shed in Martyrdom, without much troubling themselves with the writing of Books: Whether it were, because, as Learned *Origen* elegantly gives the Reason, they were of opinion that the Christian Religion was to be defended by the Innocency of Life, and honesty of Conversation, rather than by Sophistry, and the Artifice of Words: or whether, because their continual Sufferings gave them not leisure to take Pen in hand, and to write Books; or else, whether it were for some other Reason perhaps, which we know not. But this we are very well assured of, that except the Writings of the Apostles, there was very little written by others in these Primitive times: which was the cause of so much trouble to *Eusebius* in the beginning of his History, having little or no light to guide him in his Undertaking, and treading, as himself saith, in a new path, un-
beaten by any that had gone before him. Besides, the greatest part of those few Books which were written by the Christians of those Times, have not come down to our hands, but were lost, either through the injury of Time, that consumeth all things, or else have been made away by the malice of Men, who have made bold to suppress and smother whatsoever they met with, that was not wholly to their gust. Of this sort were those five Books of *Papian* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Apology of *Quadratus Atheniensis*, and that other of *Arstides*, the Writings of *Cassius Agrippa*, against the XXIV Books of the Heretick *Basilius*, the five Books of *Hegesippus*, the Works of *Melito* Bishop of *Syrac*, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Epistle of

Origen *Prolegomena*
Operis contra
Cels. p. 1, 2

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 1.
*Ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀ-
φ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκτε-
λεῖν ἐβόησε ὁ δὲ
ἐξ ἡμετέρων.*

*Hieron l. de
Scriptor. Ec.
Euseb. in hist.
passim. Tertul.
aliquorum me-
minis.*

Pinytus Cretensis, the Writings of *Philippus*, *Masamus*, *Modestus*, *Bardesanes*, *Pantenus*, *Rhodon*, *Miltiadas*, *Apollonius*, *Serapion*, *Baechylus*, *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Heraclius*, *Maximus*, *Hammonius*, *Tryphon*, *Hippolytus*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and others of whom we have no more left, save onely their Names, and the Titles of their Books, which are preserved in *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, and others. All that we have left us of these Times, which is certainly known to be theirs, and that no Man doubts of, is, some certain Discourses of *S. Justin* the Philosopher and Martyr, who wrote his second Apology a hundred and fifty years after the Nativity of our Saviour *Christ*; the Five Books of *S. Irenaeus*, who wrote not long after him; Three excellent and learned Pieces of *Clement Alexandrinus*, who lived toward the end of the second Century; divers Books of *Tertullian*, who was famous about the same time; the Epistles and other Treatises of *S. Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, who suffered Martyrdom about the year of our Saviour CCLXI; the Writings of *Arnobius*, and of *Lactantius* his Scholar, and some few others. For, as for *Origen*, *S. Cyprian's* Contemporary, who alone, had we but all his Writings entire, would be able perhaps to give us more light and satisfaction in the Business we are now upon, than all the rest; we have but very little of him left us, and the greatest part of that too most miserably abused, and corrupted; the most learned, and almost innumerable Writings of this great and incomparable Person, not being able to withstand the violence of Time, nor the envy and malice of Men, who have dealt much worse with him, than so many Ages, and Centuries of Years that have passed, from his time down to us. And thus have I given you an account of well-nigh all that we have left us, which is certainly known to have been written by the Fathers of the Three First Centuries. For, as for those other Pieces which are pretended to have been written in the same times, but are indeed either

con-

confessed to be supposititious by the *Romanists* themselves, or are rejected by their Adversaries, and that upon very good and probable grounds; these are not to have any place at all, or account here, in clearing the Controversie we have now in hand.

The Writings of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries have, I confess, out-gone the Former for number, and good fortune too; the greatest part of them having come down safe to our Hands: but they come much short of the other in Weight and Authority; especially in the Judgment of the *Protestants*, who maintain, and that upon very probable Grounds too, That the Christian Religion hath from the beginning had its declinings by little and little, losing in every Age some certain degree of its Primitive and Native Purity. And besides, we have good cause perhaps to fear, lest the multitude of Writers of these two Ages trouble us as much, as the paucity of them in the three preceding; and that, as before we suffered under scarcity, we now be overwhelmed with their multitude. For, the multitude of Words, and of Books, serves as much sometimes to the suppressing of the Sense and Opinion of any Publick Body, as Silence it self; our Minds being then extremely confounded, and perplexed, while it labours to apprehend what is the True and Common Opinion of the Whole, amidst so many differently-biassed Particulars, whereof each endeavours to express the same: it being most certain, that amongst so great and almost infinite variety of Spirits, and Tongues, you shall very hardly meet with two Persons, that shall deliver to you one and the same Opinion, (especially in Matters of so high a nature, as the Controversies in Religion are) after the same form and way of representation; how unanimous soever their Consent may otherwise be in the same Opinion. And this Variety, although it be but in the Circumstances of the thing, makes notwithstanding the Foundation it self to appear different also.

CHAP. II.

Reason II. That those Writings which we have of the Fathers of the First Centuries, treat of Matters very far different from the present Controversies in Religion.

BUT suppose that neither the want of Books in the Three First Centuries, nor yet the abundance of them in the Three following, should bring along with it these inconveniences; it will, however be very hard to discover out of them, what the Opinion of their Authors hath been, touching those Points of Christian Religion now controverted. For the Matters whereof They treat, are of a very different nature; these Authors, according as the necessity of their times required, employing themselves either in justifying the Christian Religion, and vindicating it from the aspersions of such Crimes where-with it was most falsely and injuriously charged; or else in laying open to the World the Absurdity, and Impiety of Paganism; or in convincing the hard-hearted Jews; or in confuting the prodigious Fooleries of the Hereticks of those times; or in exhortations to the Faithful to Patience and Martyrdom; or in expounding some certain Passages and Portions of the Holy Scripture: all which things have very little to do with the Controversies of these times, of which they never speak Syllable, unless they accidentally or by chance let a Word drop from them, toward this side, or that side, yet without the least thought of us, or of our Controversies; although both the one and the other Party sometimes lights upon Passages, wherein they conceive they have discovered their own Opinions clearly delivered, though

though in vain for the most part, and without ground: just as he did, that hearing a Ring of Bells, thought they perfectly sounded out unto him, what he in his own thoughts had fancied. *Justin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, *Theophilus*, and *Lactantius*, *Clement*, and *Arnobius*, shew the Heathen the Reason of their Religion, and of their gods; and that *Jupiter* and *Juno* were but Mortals; and that there is but one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. *Irenaeus* bends his whole Forces against the prodigious Opinions of *Basilides*, the *Valentinians*, and other *Gnosticks*; who were the Inventors of the most Chimerical Divinity that ever came into the fancy of Man. *Tertullian* also whips them; as they well deserve it; but he especially takes *Marcion*, *Hermogenes*, *Apelles*, *Praxeas*, and others, to task; who maintained, That there were Two Gods, or Two Principles; and confounded the Persons of the Father and the Son. *Cyprian* is wholly upon the Discipline and the Vertues of the Christian Church. *Arimas*, *Macedonius*, *Eunomius*, *Photinus*, *Pelagius*, and afterwards *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, made war for the Fathers of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. The Blasphemies of these Men against the Person or the Natures of our Saviour *Christ*, or against the Holy Ghost and its Grace, which have now of a long time lay buried, and forgotten, were the Matters debated in those times, and the subject of the greatest part of the Books then written, that have come to our Hands. What relation hath any thing of all this to the Business of Transubstantiation, and the Adoration of the Eucharist, or the Monarchy of the Pope, or the Necessity of Auricular Confession, or the Worshipping of Images, and the like Points, which are the Business of the present Controversies; and which none of the Ancients hath handled expressly, and of set purpose; and perhaps too, never so much as thought of? It is very true indeed, that the silence of these Fathers in these Points, which some set so much by, is not wholly mute; and perhaps also it may pass

pass for a very clear Testimony : but certainly not on their side who maintain them affirmatively. But however, this is a most certain truth, That throughout the whole Body of the genuine Writings of these Fathers, you shall not meet with any thing expressly urged, either for or against the greatest part of these Opinions. I shall most willingly confess, That the belief of every Wise man makes up but One entire Body, the Parts whereof have a certain correspondence and relation to each other, in such sort, as that a Man may be able, by those things which he delivers expressly, to give a guess what his Opinion is touching other things, which he declares himself not at all in : it being a thing utterly improbable that he maintains any one Position which shall manifestly clash with his other Tenets, or that he rejects any thing that necessarily followeth upon them. But besides that this manner of Disputation presupposeth, that the Belief of the Ancient Fathers hangs all close together, no one Position contradicting another, but having all its Parts united, and depending one upon another ; which notwithstanding is not altogether unquestionable, as we shall shew elsewhere : Besides all this, I say, it requireth also a sharp piercing Wit, which readily and clearly apprehends the Connexions of each several Point ; an excellent Memory, to retain faithfully whatever Positions the Ancients have maintained ; and a solid Judgment, free from all pre-occupation, to compare them with the Tenets maintained at this day : And what Man soever is endued with all these Qualities, I shall account him the fittest Man to make profitable Use of the Writings of the Fathers, and the likeliest of any to search into the bottom of them. But the mischief of it is, that Men so qualified, are very rare, and hard to be found. I shall add here, That if you will believe some certain Writers of the Church of Rome, this whole Method is vain and useles ; as is also that which makes use of Argumentation, and Reason ; means which are insufficient, and

Gontery, Veron,
and others.

and unable (in the judgment of these Doctors) to bring us to any certainty; especially in Matters of Religion, wherein, their Opinion is; we are to rely upon clear and express Texts onely. So that, according to this account, we will not, if we be wise, believe that the Fathers held any of the aforementioned Points, unless we can find them in express terms delivered in their Writings; that is to say, in the very same terms that we read them in the Decrees and Canons of the Council of *Trent*. Seeing then that according to the Opinion of these Men, those Testimonies onely are to be received, which are express, and likewise, that of these Points now controverted, there is scarcely any thing found expressly delivered by the Fathers: we may, in my Opinion, very Logically and reasonably conclude, that it is, if not an impossible, yet at least a very difficult thing (according to these Men) to come to the certain knowledge of the Opinion of the Ancients, touching the greatest part of the Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, which are at this day rejected by the Protestants.



CHAP. III.

Reason III. *That those Writings which go under the Names of the Ancient Fathers, are not all truly such; but a great part of them suppositions, and forged, either long since, or of later Times.*

I Come now to more important Considerations; these two former, though they are not in themselves to be despised, or neglected, being yet but trivial ones in respect of those which follow. For there is so great a confusion in the most part of these Books whereof we speak, that

that it is a very hard thing truly to find out who were their Authors, and what the Meaning and Sense of them is. The first Difficulty proceeds from the infinite number of Forged Books, which are falsely attributed to the Ancient Fathers: The like having hapned also in all sorts of Learning and Sciences, insomuch that the Critics at this day are sufficiently troubled in discovering both in Philosophy and Humanity, which are forged and supposititious Pieces, and which are true and legitimate. But this Abuse hath not reigned any where more grossly, and taken to it self more liberty, than toward the Ecclesiastical Writers. All Men complain on this, both on the one side, and on the other, and labour all they can to deliver us from these Confusions, though oftentimes with little success, by reason of the eagerness of their Passion, by which they are carried away, ordinarily judging of Books according to their own Interest, rather than the Truth, and rejecting all those that any whit contradict them; but defending those which speak of their side, how good or bad soever they otherwise chance to be. So that, to say the truth, they judge not of their own Opinions by the Writings of the Fathers, but of the Writings of the Fathers by their own Opinions. If they speak with Us, it is then *Cyprian* and *Chrysostome*; if not, it is some Ignorant Modern Fellow, or else some Malicious Person, who would fain cover his own filthiness under the rich Garment of these excellent Persons. Now if it were Passion only that rendered the Business obscure, we should be able easily to quit our hands of it, by stripping it, and turning it open to the World; and all moderate Men would find enough to be satisfied with. But the worst of it is, that this Obscurity oftentimes falls out to be in the things themselves, so that it is a very hard, and sometimes an impossible thing, to clear them; whether it be by reason of the Antiquity of the Error, or else by reason of the near resemblance of the False to the True. For these Forgeries are not new, and of yester day;

yesterday; but the Abuse hath been on foot above fourteen hundred years. It is the complaint of the greatest part of the Fathers, That the Hereticks, to gain their own Dreams the greater Authority, vented them under the Names of some of the most eminent Writers in the Church, and even of the Apostles themselves. *Amphi- lochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, who was so much esteemed by the great *S. Basil*, Archbishop of *Cæsarea*, wrote a particular Tract on this Subject, alledged by the Fathers of the Seventh Council, against a certain Passage produced by the *Iconoclasts* out of I know not what idle Treatise, entituled, *The Travels of the Apostles*. And I would to God that Tract of this Learned Prelate were now extant! If it were, it would perhaps do us good service in discovering the Vanity of very many ridiculous Pieces, which now pass up and down the World under the Names of the Primitive and most Ancient Christians. *S. Hierome* rejecteth divers Apocryphal Books, which are published under the Names of the Apostles, and of their first Disciples; as namely, of *S. Peter*, of *Barnabas*, and others. The Gospel of *S. Thomas*, and the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, are put in the same rank by the Council. Now if these wretched Knaves have been thus fawcy with the Apostles, as to make use of Their Names, how much more likely is it, that they would not stick to make as bold with the Fathers? And indeed this kind of Imposture hath always been very ordinary. Thus we read, That the *Nestorians* sometime published an Epistle under the Name of *S. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in the defence of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, who was the Author and first Broacher of their Heresie: and likewise that the *Eutychists* also vented certain Books of *Apollinarius*, under the Title of *The Orthodox Doctors*, only to abuse the simple People. *Leonius* hath written an express Tract on this Subject; wherein he shews, That these Men abused particularly the Names of *S. Gregory* of *Neocæsarea*, of *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, and of *Athanasius*.

Hegeſippus a- pad Enſeb. l. 4. c. 22.

Concil. 7. Aſſ. 3. Tom. 3 p. 552.

Hier. l de ſcrip. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. p. 346 B. & 350. C.

Concil. 7. Aſſ. 6.

Concil. 3. Col- lat. 6.

Marian. ep ad Mon. Alex. ad calcem Concil. Chal. T. 2. p. 450. E. Leont. lib. ex- tat. Bibl. SS. P. T. 4 part. 2.

sius, Bishop of *Alexandria*: and he also saith particularly, That the Book entituled, *Ἡ κατὰ πῶτον ἀποστολική*, A particular Exposition of the Faith, which is delivered unto us by *Turrianus* the Jesuite, *Gerardus Vossius*, and the last Edition of *Gregorius Neocæsariensis*, for a true and legitimate Piece of the said S. Gregory, is not truly his, but the Bastard Issue of the Heretick *Apollinaris*. And the like Judgment do the Publishers of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* give of the XII *Anathema's*, which are commonly attributed to the same S. Gregory. The *Monothelites* also, taking the same course, forged an Oration under the Name of *Menas* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and directed to *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*: and two other Books under the Name of the same *Vigilius*, directed to *Justinian* and *Theodora*; wherein their Heresie is in express terms delivered: and these three Pieces were afterwards inserted into the Body of the Fifth Council, and kept in the Library of the Patriarch's Palace in *Constantinople*. But this Imposture was discovered, and convinced in the VI Council: for otherwise, who would not have been deceived by it, seeing these false Pieces in so Authentick a Copy? I bring but these few Examples, to give the Reader but a taste onely of what the Hereticks not onely dared, but were able also to do, in this particular: and all these things were done before the end of the Seventh Century, that is to say, above nine hundred years ago. Since which time, in all the Disputes about the Images in Churches, and in the differences betwixt the *Greek* and *Latine* Churches, and indeed in the most part of all other Ecclesiastical Contestations, you shall find nothing more frequent, than the mutual Re-approaches that the several Parties cast at each other, accusing each other of forging the Pieces of Authors which they produced each of them in defence of their own Cause. Judge you therefore, whether or not the Hereticks, using the same Artifice, and the same Diligence; now for the space of so many Centuries since, though in different

Greg. Thaumaturg.
op. Par. ann.
1622. pag. 97.
ubi vide Voss.

Bibl. SS. PP.
T. 1. Gr. Lat.

Concil. 6. Aſ. 3.
& *Aſ. 14. T. 3.*
Concil.

Concil. 6. Aſ. 3.
& *Aſ. 14. T. 3.*
Concil.

Concil. 7. Aſ. 6.
Refut. Iconoclast. Tom. 5.

Concil. Florent.
Sess. 20. T. 4.

different Causes, may not in all probability have furnished us with a sufficient stock of spurious Pieces, sent abroad under the Names of the Ancient Fathers, by their professed Enemies? And do but think whether or no we may not chance to converse with an Heretick sometimes, when we think we have a Father before us; and a professed Enemy, disguised under the mask of a Friend? So that it will hence follow, That it may justly be feared, that we sometimes receive and deliver for Maxims and Opinions of the Ancient Church, no better than the very Dreams of the Ancient Hereticks. For we must conceive, that they were not so foolish, as to discover their Venom at the first dash, in the height of their Heretical Positions; but rather, that they onely cunningly cast in here and there some sprinklings of it, laying the foundation of their Heresie as it were afar off onely; which makes the Knavery the more hard to be discovered, and so consequently the more dangerous. But supposing that this Jugling Trick of the Hereticks may have very much corrupted the Old Books; yet notwithstanding, had we no other spurious Pieces than what had been forged by them, it would be no very hard matter to distinguish the True from the False. But that which renders the Evil almost uncurable, is, that even in the Church it self this kind of Forgery hath been both very Ordinary, and very Ancient. I impute a great part of the cause of this Mischief to those Men, who before the Invention of Printing, were the Transcribers and Copiers out of Manuscripts: of whose negligence and boldness in corrupting of Books, S. Hierome very much complained even in his time: *Scribunt (saith he) non quod invenimus, sed quod intelligunt; & dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos*: That is, *They write, not what they find, but what they understand; and whilst they endeavour to correct other Mens Errors, they shew their own.* We may very well presume, that what liberty these Men took in corrupting, they took the same in forging Books

*Hier. Ep. 28. ad
Lucin. Tom. 1.*

too: especially since this last course was beneficial to them, which the other was not. For by altering or corrupting the Books they wrote, they could not make any advantage to themselves: whereas in forging new Books, and venting them under great and eminent Names, they put them off both faster and dearer. So likewise if there came to their hands any Book, that had either no Authors Name; or having any, it was but an obscure, or a tainted one: to the end that these evil Marks might not prejudice the venting of it, they would rase it out without any more ado, and inscribe it presently with some one of the most Eminent and Venerable Names that was in the Church; that so the Reputation and Favour that That Name had found in the World, might be a means of the better putting off their false Wares. As for example: The Name of *Novatianus*, who was the Head of a Schism against the *Roman Church*, became justly to be odious to Christian ears; as that of *Tertullian* was the more esteemed, both for the Age, Wit, and Learning of the Person. Now the Transcriber considering this with himself, without any other design, or end, than onely of his own private Gain, hath, in my judgment, made an exchange, attributing to *Tertullian* that Book of the *Trinity*, which is indeed *Novatianus* his; as we are given to understand also by *S. Hierome*. And I am of opinion, that both the birth and fortune of that other Piece *De Penitentia* hath been, if not the very same, yet at least not much unlike that of the other. So likewise that Book which beareth Title, *De Operibus Cardinalibus Christi*, which was composed and sent by the Author of it to one of the Popes, without setting down his Name, as himself there testifies, hath been vented abroad under the Name of *S. Cyprian*, onely because by this means it is the more profitable to the Manuscript-monger; and it hath formerly always passed, and doth still pass for his; notwithstanding that, in my judgment, it is clear enough, that

*Hier. Apol. 2.
contr. Ruff.*

*Author operis,
De Operibus
Card. Christi,
inter Cyprian,
oper. p. 444.*

that it cannot be his; as is ingenuously confessed by a very many of the Learned; both of the one, and of the other side. *Ruffinus* had some Name in the Church; though nothing near so great a one as *Cyprian* had: and this is the reason why the afore-named Merchants have inscribed with *S. Cyprian's* Name that Treatise upon the Apostles Creed, which was written by *Ruffinus*. Besides the Avarice of these *Eidarii*; their own Ignorance, or at least of those whom they consulted, hath in like manner produced no small number of these spurious Pieces. For when either the likeness of the Name; or of the Style; or of the Subject treated of, or any other seeming Reason, gave them occasion to believe, that such an Anonymous Book was the Work of such or such an ancient Author, they presently copied it out under the said Author's Name; and thus it came from thenceforth to be received by the World for such, and by them to be delivered for such, over to Posterity. But all the blame is not to be laid upon the Transcribers onely; in this particular: the Authors themselves have contributed very much to the promoting of this kind of Imposture. For there have been found in all Ages some that have been so sottishly ambitious, and so desirous, at what rate soever, to have their Conceptions published to the World; as that finding they should never be able to please, and get applause abroad of themselves, they have vented them under the Name of some of the Fathers; chusing rather to see them received, and honoured, under this false Habit, than disdained, and slighted, under their own true one. These Men, according as their several Abilities have been; have imitated the Style and Fancy of the Fathers, either more or less happily; and have boldly presented these Issues of their own Brain to the World, under their Names. The World, the greatest part whereof hath always been the least subtle; hath very readily collected, preserved, and cherished these false Births, and hath by degrees filled all their Libraries with them. Others have

been

*Erasmus in edit. Cyp. sua
Sixtus Senens.
Biblioth. lib. 4.
Bellar. de Euchar.
l. 2. cap. 9.
De amiss. grat.
l. 6. c. 2. P. sse-
vin, in Appar. Scult.
Medulla Patr. Andr. Ri-
vet. Eccl. 15.
Crit. Sacr.
Aubert. de Euchar.
l. 2. c. 8.*

Jesus Christ; and his Kingdom, under the Names of the *Sibylls*; which was done by some of the first Christians, onely to prepare the Pagans to relish this Doctrine the better; as it is objected against them by *Celsus*, in *Ori-Orig contra gen.* But, that which is of greater consequence yet, is, *Cels. lib. 7.* that even the Fathers themselves have sometimes made use of this Artifice, to promote the Interest either of their own Opinions, or their Passions. We have a notable Example hereof, which was objected against the *Latins* by the *Greeks*, above two hundred years since, of *Concil. Flor.* two Bishops of *Rome*, *Zozimus* and *Boniface*, who to *Sess. 2. p. 457.* authorize the Title which they pretended to have of being Universal Bishops, and Heads of the whole Christian Church, and particularly of the *African*, forged, about the beginning of the Fifth Century, certain Canons in the Council of *Nice*, and alledged them for such divers times, in the Councils in *Africa* which notwithstanding, after a long and diligent search, could never yet be found in any of the Authentick Copies of the said Council of *Nice*, although the *African* Bishops had taken the pains to send as far as *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, to get the best and truest Copies that they could. Neither indeed have the Canons and Acts of the Council of *Nice* at this day, though it hath since that time passed through so many several hands, any thing in it; nor in the Editions of those very Men who are the most interested in the Honour of the Popes; as that of *Dionysius Beignus*, who published his *Latin* Collection of them about the year of our Saviour Christ 1525; nor in any other either Ancient or Modern. For as for that Authentick Copy of the Council of *Nice*, which one *Frier John*, at the Council of *Florence*, pretended to have been the onely Copy that had escaped the Corruptions of the *Arrians*, and had for this cause been always kept under Lock and Key at *Rome*, with all the safety and care that might be; out of which Copy they had transcribed the said Canons. I confess, this Co-

Concil. Afric.
6. cap. 3.

Concil. Flor.
Sess. 20.

py must needs have been kept up very close, under Locks and Seals; seeing that three of their Popes, namely, *Zozimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celestine*, could never be able to produce it, for the justification of their pretended Title, against the *African* Fathers, though in a case of so great Importance. And it is a wonderful strange thing to me, that this Man, who came a thousand years after, should now at last make use of it in this cause; whereas those very Persons who had it in their custody, never so much as mentioned one Syllable of it: which is an evident Argument, that the Seals of this rare Book were never opened, save only in the Brains of this Doctor, where only it was both framed and sealed up, brought forth and vanished, all at the same instant; the greatest part of those Men that have come after him, having laid aside this Chimerical Invention, being ashamed to make use of it any longer. And to say truth, that which these Men answer, by way of excusing the said Popes, is not any whit more probable; namely, That they took the Council of *Nice*, and that of *Sardica*, in which those Canons they alledge are really found, for one and the same Council. For whom will these Men ever be able to perswade, That two Ecclesiastical Assemblies, betwixt which there passed near twenty two whole years, called by two several Emperors, and for Matters of a far different nature; the one of them for the Explanation of the Christian Faith, and the other for the Re-establishing of two Bishops in their Thrones, and in Places very far distant from each other: the one at *Nicea* in *Bithynia*, the other at *Sardica*, a City of *Illyricum*: the Canons of which two Councils are very different, both in substance, number, and authority; the one of them having always been received generally by the whole Church; but the other having never been acknowledged by the Eastern Church; should yet notwithstanding be but one and the same Council? How can they themselves endure this, who are so fierce against the *Greeks*, for having offered

offered to attribute (which they do notwithstanding with more appearance of truth) to the Sixth Council, those CII Canons which were agreed upon ten years after at *Constantinople*, in an Assembly wherein one party of the Fathers of the Sixth Council met? How came it to pass that they gave any credit to the Ancient Church, seeing that in the *Greek* Collection of her Ancient Canons, those of the Council of *Sardica* are quite left out; and in the *Latin* Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*, made at *Rome* eleven hundred years since, they are placed, not with those of the Council of *Nice*, nor yet immediately after them, as if they all made up but one Body betwixt them: but are put in a place a great way behind, after the Canons of all the General Councils that had been held till that very time he lived in? And how comes it to pass, that these Ancient Popes, who alledged these Canons, if they believed these Councils to be both one, did not say so? The *African* Bishops had diverse and sundry times declared, That these Canons, which were by them alledged, were not at all to be found in their Copies. Certainly therefore, if those who had cited them, had thought the Council of *Nice*, and that of *Sardica* to have been both but one Council, they would no doubt have made answer, That these Canons were to be found in this pretended Second Part of the Council of *Nice*, among those which had been agreed upon at *Sardica*; especially when they saw that these careful Fathers, for the clearing of the Controversie betwixt them, had resolved to send to this purpose as far as *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*. And yet for all this, there is not the least Syllable, tending this way, said by them. And certainly if the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* had been in those days reputed as a part of the Council of *Nice*, it is a very strange thing, that so many Learned and Religious Prelates as there were at that time in *Africa*, as namely, *Aurelius*, *Alipius*, and even *S. Augustine*, that glorious Light, not of the *African* onely,

*Codex Can. Ec.
Un. Dionys.
Exig. p. 99.*

but of the whole Ancient Church, should have been so ignorant in this particular. But it is a wonder beyond all belief, that three Popes, and their Legates, should leave their Party in an Ignorance so gross, and so prejudicial to their own Interest; it being in their power to have relieved them in two words. We may safely then conclude, That these Popes, *Zozimus*, and *Boniface*, had no other Copies of the Council of *Nice*, than what we have: and also, that they did not believe that the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* were a part of the Council of *Nice*; but that they rather purposely alledged some of the Canons of *Sardica*, under the name of the Canons of the Council of *Nice*. And this they did according to that Maxim which was in force with those of former times, and is not utterly laid aside even in our own; namely, That for the advancing of a Good and Godly Cause, it is lawful sometimes to use a little Deceit, and to have recourse to your *Pie Frauder*. They therefore firmly believing as they did, That the Supremacy of their See, over all other Churches, was a Business of great importance, and would be very profitable to all *Christendom*; we are not to wonder, if for the establishing this right on themselves, they made use of a little Legerdmain, alledging *Sardica* for *Nice*: reckoning with themselves, that if they brought their Design about, this small Failing of theirs would in process of time be abundantly satisfied for, by the benefit and excellency of the thing it self. Yet notwithstanding this Opposition made by the *African* Fathers against the Church of *Rome*, Pope *Leo*, not many years after, writing to the Emperour *Theodosius*, did not forbear to make use of the old Forgery, citing one of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, for a Legitimate Canon of the Council of *Nice*: which was the cause that the Emperour *Valentinian* also, and his Empress *Galla Placidia*, writing in the behalf of the said Pope *Leo* to the Emperour *Theodosius*, affirmed to him for a certain Truth, That both all Antiquity, and the Canons

*Leo in ep. ad
Theodof. Imp.
Tom. 2. Concil.*

*Valentin. in ep.
ad Theod. Tom.
2. Concil. Galla
Placid. in ep. ad
Theodof. Tom. 2.*

nons of the Council of *Nice* asb, had assigned to the Pope of *Rome* the Power of judging of Points of Faith, and of the Prelates of the Church; *Leo* having before possessed them, That this Canon of the Council of *Sardica* was one of the Canons of *Nice*. And thus, by a strong perseverance in this *Pious Fraud*, they have at length so fully perswaded a great part of *Christendom*, that the Council of *Nice* had established this Supremacy upon the Pope of *Rome*, that it is now generally urged by all of them, whenever this Point is controverted. I must crave pardon of the Reader, for having so long insisted on this Particular, and perhaps longer somewhat than my Design required: yet, in my judgment, it may be of no small importance to the Business in hand. For (will the Protestants here say) seeing that two Popes, Bishops, and Princes, which all Christians have approved, have notwithstanding thus foisted in false Wares; what ought we to expect from the rest of the Bishops and Doctors? Since these Men have done this in the beginning of the Fifth Century, an Age of so high repute for its Faith and Doctrine, what have they not dared to do in the succeeding Ages? If they have not forbore so foully to abuse the sacred Name of the Council of *Nice*, the most Illustrious and Venerable Monument of Christianity, next to the Holy Scriptures; what other Authors can we imagine they would spare? And if in the face of so Renowned an Assembly, and in the presence of whatever *Africk* could shew of Eminency, both for Sanctity and Learning; and even under the eye of the great *S. Augustine* too, they made no conscience at all to make use of so gross a piece of Forgery; what have they not since, in these later Times, while the whole World for so many Ages lay covered with so thick darkness, dared to do? But as for my part, I shall neither accuse nor excuse at present these Mens Proceedings; but shall onely conclude; That seeing that the Writings of the Fathers, before they came to us, have passed through the hands of those who have some-

times been found to use these juggling Tricks; it is not so easie a matter as People may imagine, to discover out of those Writings which now pass under the Names of the Fathers, what their Opinions were. The like Inclinations produced the very same Effects in the Fifth Council; where a Letter forged under the Name of *Theodoret*, touching the Death of *S. Cyril*, was both read, and by a general silence approved by the whole Assembly; which yet notwithstanding was so evidently false, that those very Men who caused the Body of the General Councils to be Printed at *Rome*, have convinced it of falshood, and branded it as spurious. Such another precious Piece is that foolish Story of a Miracle wrought by an Image of our Saviour *Christ* in the City *Berytus*, which is related in very ample manner, in the VII Council, and goes forsooth, under the Name of *S. Athanasius*; but is indeed so tasteless a Piece, and so unworthy the Gallantry and clearness of that great Wit, that he must not be thought to have common sense, that can find in his heart to attribute it to him. And therefore we see, that notwithstanding the Authority of this Council, both *Nannius*, *Bellarmino*, and *Possevin*, have plainly confessed, that it was not written by *Athanasius*. I shall place in this Rank the so much cried up Deed of the *Donation of Constantine*, which hath for so long a time been accounted as a most Valid and most Authentick Evidence, and hath also been inserted into the Decrees, and so stiffly maintained by the Bishops of *Agobio*, against the Oppositions of *Lawrentius Valla*. Certainly those very Men who at this day maintain the *Donation*, do notwithstanding disclaim this Evidence, as a piece of Forgery. Of the same nature are the Epistles attributed to the first Popes, as *Clemens*, *Anacletus*, *Evaristus*, *Alexander*, *Sixtus*, *Telphorus*, *Hyginus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, and others, down to the times of *Siricius*; that is to say, to the year of our Saviour *Christ* *CCCLXXXV*. which the World read under these Venerable Titles at the least for eight hundred

Council. 5. A.D. 451.
Tom. 2. Council.

Council. 7. A.D. 453.
Tom. 3. Council.

Nannius in e-
dit. op. Athan.
Bellar de imag.
l. 2 c. 10. & lib.
de script. Ec-
cles. in Athan.
Possevin. in ap-
par. in Athan.

D. 96 C. Con-
stantino nostro.
14.
Augusti. Steu-
chini de Dona.
Constant.
Baron. in annal.
Melchior Ca-
mus locor. Theo-
log. l. 11. p. 511.

dred years together; and by which have been decided, to the advantage of the Church of Rome, very many Controversies, and especially the most important of all the rest, namely, that of the Pope's Monarchy; which sheweth plain enough the Inclination; (shall I call it!) or rather the purposed Design of the Merchant that first vented them abroad. The greatest part of these notwithstanding, are accounted forged even by many of the Learned of their own Party; as namely, *Henricus Kaltheisen*, *Nicolas Cusanus*, *Jo. de Turrecremata*, both Cardinals; *Erasmus*, *Jo. Driedo*, *Claudius Espenseus*, *Cassander*, *Simon Vigor*, *Baronius*, and others: as indeed their Forgery appears plain enough; by the barbarousness of their Style, the Errors that you meet with every foot in computing the Times, and in History; the Pieces that they are patched up of, stolen here and there out of several Authors, whose Books we have at this day to shew; and also by the general silence of all the Writers of the Eight first Centuries, among whom there is not one word mentioned of them. Now I shall not here meddle at all with the Six or Seven last Centuries; where, in regard of diverse Articles of Faith, most eagerly by them pressed and established, there hath been more need than ever of the Assistance of the Ancients; and where, in respect of the dark Ignorance of those Times, and the scarcity of Opposers, they had much better opportunity than before to forge what Books they pleased. This Abuse the World was never free from, till the Times of the Light breaking forth in the Last Century; at what time *Erasmus* by name; gives us an account, how he himself had discovered one of these wretched Knaves, whose ordinary practice it was to lay his own Eggs in another Man's Nest, putting his own Fooleries on *S. Hierome* particularly, and on *S. Augustine*, and *S. Ambrose*. And who knows what those many Books be, that are daily issued out of the self-same Shops, that of old were wont to furnish the World with these kind of Knacks? Is it not very probable, that

Hen. Kaltheis.
ap. Magdeb.
cent. 2.
Nic. Cusan.
Conc. Cath.
l. 2. c. 34.
Jo. de Turrecr.
de Eccl. lib. 2.
c. 101.
Jo. Driedo de
dogm. & scrip.
Eccl. l. 1. c. 2.
Ch. Espens. de
Contin. l. 1. c. 2.
G. Cassand. de
fens. lib. de of
ficio pii viri,
p. 843.
Sim. Vig. ex
respons. Syn.
Basil. &c. en
la lettre contr.
Durand.
Baron. Annal.
T. 2. an. 102. &
an. 865.
Erasm. prefat.
in Hieron.

both

both the Will, and the Dexterity, in forging and venting these false Wares, will rather in these days increase, than abate, in the Professors of this Trade? So that, if besides what the Malice of the Hereticks, the Avarice and Ignorance of Transcribers of Manuscripts, and the ambition and affectation of Men hath brought forth of this kind, there have yet so many others bent their endeavours this way, and that in a manner all along, for the space of the last Fourteen hundred years, although they had their several ends; we are not to wonder at all, if now in this last Age we see such a monstrous number of Writings falsely Fathered upon the Ancients: which, if they were all put together, would make little less than a Fourth or a Fifth part of the Works of the Fathers. I am not ignorant, that the Learned have noted a great number of them, and do ordinarily cast them into the later Tomes of Editions; and that some have written whole Books upon this very Subject; as namely, *Ant. Passerini's Apparatus*, *Bellarmini's Catalogue*, *Scultetus his Medulla Patrum*, *River's Critick*, and the like, both of the one and the other Religion. But who can assure us that they have not forgotten any thing they should have noted? Besides, that it is a new Labour, and almost equal to the former, to read so many Books of the Moderns as there are. And when all is done, we are not presently to sit down upon their Judgments neither, without a due examination had of them. For each of them having been prepossessed with the Prejudices of the Party in which they were brought up before they took this Work in hand, who shall warrant us, that they have not delivered any thing in this case, in favour of their own particular Interest, as hath been touched before? The justness of this suspicion is so clear, that I presume that no Man that is but any way versed in these matters, will desire me to prove my Assertion. Neither shall I need to give any other reason of it, than the Conflicts and Disagreements in Judgments which we may observe in these Men: the one of them often-

oftentimes letting pass for pure Metal, what the other perhaps will throw by for Dross: Which Differences are found not onely betwixt those that are of quite opposite Religions; but, which is more, even betwixt those that are of the self same Perswasion. Those whom we named not long before, who were all of the Roman Church, cry down (as we have said) the greatest part of the Decretals of the first Popes. *Franciscus Turrianus*, a Jesuite, receives them, and defends them all, in a Tract written by him to that purpose. *Baronius* calls the *Recognitions* *Baron. Annal.* which are attributed to *Clementis Romanus*, *A Gulf of Filth* *Tom. 1. an. 51.* and *Uncleanesse*; full of prodigious Lies, and frantick Fancies. *Billarmini* says, That this Book was written either by *Clement*, or else by some other Author as Learned and as Ancient as he. Some of them hold those *Fragments*, published by *Nicol. Faber*, under the Name of *S. Hilary*, for good and legitimate Pieces; and some others again reject them. *Erasmus*, *Sixtus Senensis*, *Melchior Canus*, and *Baronius*, are of opinion, That the Book *Of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, is falsely attributed to *S. Hierome*: *Christophorus a Castro*, a Spanish Jesuite, maintains the contrary. *Cardinal Cajetan*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Erasmus*, and some others, hold the Books of *Dionysius the Areopagite* for suspected, and spurious: *Baronius*, and almost all the rest of their Writers, maintain that they are true and legitimate. *Turrianus*, *Bovin*, and some others, commend unto us the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, for a legitimate Piece: But *Baronius*, *Possevin*, *Petavius*, and a great many others, speak doubtfully of them. And a Man shall find in the Writings of those of the Church of Rome, infinite variety of divided Judgments, in such Cases as these. He that hath a mind to furnish himself with Examples of this Nature, may have recourse to their Books, and particularly to the Writings of the late *Cardinal Perron*, who differs as much from the rest, in this Point of Criticism, as he doth for the most part in the Method he observes in his Disputations.

tations. Now I would willingly be informed, what a Man should do, amidst these diversities of Judgment; and what Path he should take, where he meeteth with so disagreeing Guides. But yet suppose that these Authors have done their utmost endeavour in this Design, without any particular affection, or partiality; how, notwithstanding, shall we be satisfied concerning their sufficiency for the performance of their Undertaking? Is it a light Business, think you, to bring the whole stock of Antiquity to the Cruzet; and there to purifie and refine it, and to separate all the Dross from it, which hath so deeply, and for the space of so many Ages, been not only as it were tied, and fastned on to it, but even thoroughly mixed, united, and incorporated with it? This Work requireth the most clear and refined Judgment that can be imagined, an exquisite Wit, a quick piercing Eye, a perfect Ear, a most exact knowledge in all History, both Ancient and Modern, both Ecclesiastical and Secular; a perfect knowledge of the Ancient Tongues, and a long and continued Conversation with all sorts of Writers, both Ancient, of the middle Ages, and Modern; to be able to judge of their Inclinations, and which way their Pulse beat; to understand rightly the manner of their Expression, Invention, and Method in Writing; each Age, each Nation, and each Author, having their own peculiar ways in all these. Now such a Man as this, is hardly produced in a whole age. As for those Men who in our Times have taken upon them this part of Criticism, who knows not, who sees not, that but reads them, how many of these forenamed Qualities are wanting in them? But yet suppose that such a Man were to be found, and that he should take in hand this Discovery: I do verily believe, that he would be able very easily to find out the Imposture of a bungling Fool, that had ill counterfeited the Stamp, Colour, and Weight, in the Piece which he would father upon some other Man; or that should, for example, endeavour to represent either S. Hierome, or

S. Chrysostome, with a stammering Tongue, and should make them speak barbarous Language, bad *Latin*, and bad *Greek*; or else perhaps should make use of such Terms, Things, or Authors, as were not known to the World till a long time after these Men; or should make them treat of Matters far removed from the Age they lived in, and maintain Opinions which they never thought of, or reject those which they are notoriously known to have held: And of this sort, for the most part, are those Pieces which our Criticks have decried, and noted unto us as spurious. But if a Man should chance to bring him a Piece of some able Master, that should have fully and exactly learnt both the Languages, History, Manners, Alliances, and Quarrels of the Family he hath boldly thrust himself into, and should be able to make happy use of all these, assure your self, that our *Aristarchus* would be here as much puzzled to discover this Jugler, as they were once in *France*, to convince the Impostures of *Martin Guerre*. Now how can we imagine, but that among so many several Persons, that have for their several Purposes employed their utmost Endeavours in these kinds of Forgeries, there must needs have been, in so many Centuries of years, very many able Men, who have had the skill so artificially to imitate the Fancy and Style of the Persons whom they act, as that it is impossible to discover them? Especially, if they made choice of such a Name as was the onely thing remaining in the World of that Author, so that there is no mark left us either of his Style, Discourse, or Opinions, to guide us in our Examination. And therefore, in my judgment, he was a very cunning Fellow, and made a right choice, that undertook to write under the Name of *Dionysius the Areopagite*: for we having not left us any true Legitimate Piece of this Author, by which we may examine this Cheat, the Discovery must needs be difficult: and it would have proved so much the more hard, if he had but used a more modest and less swelling manner of Expression: Whereas for

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those others, who in the Ages following made bold with the Names of *S. Hierome*, *S. Cyprian*, *S. Augustine*, and the like; of whose legitimate Writings we have very many Pieces left us: a Man may know them at the first sight, meerly by the Style; those Gothick and rude Spirits being no more able to counterfeit the Graces and Elegancies of these great Authors, than an Ass is to imitate the Warblings of the Nightingale. I confess, there is another Help, which, in my judgment, may stand us in more stead, in this Particular, than all the rest; namely, the Light and Direction of the Ancients themselves, who oftentimes make mention of other Writers of the Church which lived either before, or in their own Times: *S. Hierome* among the *Latins*, having taken the pains to make a Catalogue of all those whose Names and Writings he knew of, down from the Apostles time to his own; which was afterward continued by *Gennadius*. To this we may also add that incomparable Work of the Patriarch *Photius*, which he calls his *Bibliotheca*; and is now published in this our Age; where this great Person hath given us his Judgment of most of the Authors of the Greek Church. Now this Help we may make use of two manner of ways: The one is, in justifying a Book, if it be found mentioned by these Authors: The other is, in rejecting it, if they say nothing of it. As for the first of these, it concludes onely according to the Quality of the Authors who make mention of a suspected Book. For, some of the Fathers themselves have made use of these kind of Forgeries, as we have formerly said; others have favoured them, because they served their turn; some have not been able to discover them; and some others have not been willing to do so, whatsoever their Reason hath been. I shall not here repeat the Names of any of those that have done these things themselves: And as for those that have favoured them, there are good store of examples, as *Justin Martyr*, *Theophilus*, and others, who alledge the *Sibylls Verbs*, as Oracles; which are notwithstanding,

standing the greatest part of them forged. *Clemens Alex.* *Hier. ep. 84. ad*
audrinus, the most Learned, and most Polite of all the *Magn. Tom. 2.*
 Fathers, in *S. Hierome's* judgment, how often doth he
 make use of those Apocryphal Pieces which go under
 the Names of the Apostles and Disciples, to whom they
 were most falsely attributed; citing under the Name of
 a *Barnabas*, and of *Hermes*, such Writings as have been
 forged under their Names? And did not the VII Council
 in like manner make use of a supposititious Piece, attribut-
 ed to *Athanasius*, as we have shewed before; and like-
 wise of divers others which are of the same stamp?
 That even the Fathers themselves therefore have not
 been able always to make a true discovery of these false
 Wares, no Man can doubt; considering that of those
 many necessary Qualifications which we reckoned up
 before, as requisite in this Particular, they may often-
 times have failed in some. *S. Hierome* himself, the most
 knowing Man among all the *Latin* Fathers, especially in
 Matters of this nature, sometimes lets them pass without
 examination; as there, where he speaks of a certain
 Tract against *Mathematicians*, attributed to *Minutius* *Hier. ep. 84. ad*
Felix, If at least (saith he) the Inscription represent unto *Magn. Tom. 2.*
 us the right Author of the Book. And in another place,
 whatsoever his reason was, he delivers to us for Legiti-
 mate Pieces, the Epistles that go about under the Name *Id. in Catal.*
 of *S. Paul* to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to *S. Paul*; which *Tom. 1.*
 notwithstanding, Cardinal *Brunius* holds for suspected
 and spurious, as doubtless they are. But even those Men
 who have been able to discover these false Pieces, have
 not sometimes been willing to do it; either being unwill-
 ing to offend the Authors of them, or else not daring to
 cast any disrepute upon those Books, which having ma-
 ny good things in them, had nor in their judgment any
 false or dangerous Positions in them. And this is the
 reason why they made choice to let such things pass, ra-
 ther than out of a little tenderness of conscience to op-
 pose them, there being in their apprehension, no danger

a Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 2.
b Id. Strom. l. 1.
c l. 2. c alibi
passim.

Hier. ep. 84. ad
Magn. Tom. 2.
Id. in Catal.
Tom. 1.

Baron. Annal.
Tom. 1. an 66.

at all in the one, and much trouble and envy in the other. And therefore I am of opinion, That *S. Hierome*, for example, would never have taken the pains, nor have undergone the envy, in laying open the Forgeries of *Ruffinus*, if the misunderstanding that hapned to be betwixt them, had not engaged him to it. Neither do I believe that the *African* Fathers would ever have troubled themselves in convincing the false Allegation of *Zozimus*, but for their own Interest, which was thereby called in question. For wise and sober Men never use to fall at variance with any Body, till they needs must; neither do they quickly take notice of any Injury or Abuse offered them, unless it be a very great one, and such as hath evident danger in it: which was not at all perceived or taken notice of at first, in these Forgeries; which nevertheless have at length, by little and little, in a manner born down all the good and true Books. These Considerations, in my opinion, make it clearly appear, That the Title of a Book is not sufficiently justified by a Passage or two being cited out of it by some of the Ancients, and under the same Name. As for the other way, which rendreth the Authority of a Book doubtful, by the Ancients not having made any mention of it; I confess it is no more demonstrative than the other: forasmuch as it is not impossible, that any one, or divers of the Fathers, may not have met with such a certain Writer that was then extant, or else perhaps that they might omit some one of those very Authors which they knew. Yet notwithstanding is this the much surer way of the two, there being less danger, in this case, in rejecting a True Piece, than in receiving a Forged one; the want of the Truth of the one, being doubtless much less prejudicial, than the receiving the opposite Falshood of the other. For as it is a less sin to omit the Good, than to commit the Evil that is opposite to it; in like manner is it a less Error not to believe a Truth, than to believe the Falshood which is contrary to it. And thus we

see what confusion there is in the Books of the Ancients, and what defect in the Means which is requisite for the distinguishing the False from the True: insomuch that, as it often falls out, it is much easier to judge what we ought to reject, than to resolve upon what we may safely receive. Let the Reader therefore now judge, whether or no these Writings having come down along through so many Ages, and passed through so many Hands, which are either known to have been notoriously guilty, or at least strongly suspected of Forgery, the Truth in the mean time having made on its part but very weak resistance against these Impositions; it be not a very hard matter to discover, amidst the infinite number of Books that are now extant, and go under the Names of the Fathers, which are those that truly belong to them; and which again are those that are falsely imposed upon them. And if it be so hard a matter to discover in grossly which are the Writings of the Fathers; how much more difficult a Business will it be to find out what their Opinions are touching the several Controversies now in agitation. For we are not to imagine, that it is no great matter from which of the Fathers such an Opinion hath sprung, so that it came from any one of them: for there is altogether as much difference amongst these Ancient Doctors, both in respect of Authority, Learning, and Goodness, as among the Moderns. Besides, that an Ages being higher or lower, either raiseth or lessneth the Repute of these Writings, in the esteem both of the one Party, and of the other, as it were, so many grains; as years: And certainly not altogether without good reason, it being most evident to any one that hath been but the least versed in the reading of these Books, That Time hath by degrees introduced very great Alterations, as well in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Ancients, as in all other things. Our Conclusion therefore shall be, That whosoever shall desire to know what the Sense and Judgment of the Primitive Church hath

bath been, touching our present Controversies; it will be first in a manner as necessary for him, as it is difficult, exactly to find out both the Name and the Age of each of these several Authors.



CHAP. IV.

Reason IV. That those of the Writings of the Fathers which are Legitimate, have been in many Places corrupted by Time, Ignorance, and Fraud, both Pious and Malicious, both in the former and later Ages.

But, put the case now here, that you had by your long and judicious Endeavours severed the True and Genuine Writings of the Fathers, from the Spurious and Forged: there would yet lie upon you a second Task, whose event is like to prove much more doubtful, and fuller of difficulty than the former. For it would concern you in the next place, in reading over those Authors which you acknowledge for Legitimate, to distinguish what is the Author's own, and what hath been foisted in by another Hand; and also to restore to your Author, whatsoever either by Time or Fraud hath been taken away; and to take out of him whatsoever hath been added by either of these two. Otherwise you will never be able to assure your self, that you have discovered out of these Books, what the true and proper meaning and sense of your Author hath been; considering the great Alterations that by several ways they may have suffered, in several Times. I shall not here speak of those Errours which have been produced by the Ignorance of the Tran-

scribers; Who write (as Hierome hath complained of Lucin. Tom. 1. them) not what they find, but what themselves understand:

stand: Nor yet of those Faults which necessarily have grown up out of the very Transcribing; it being an impossible thing, that Books which have been copied out an infinite number of times, during the space of ten or twelve Centuries of years, by Men of so different Capacities; and Hands, should all this while retain exactly; and in every Particular, the self-same Juice, the same Form and Body that they had when they first came forth from the Author's own hand. Neither shall I here say any thing of the sufferings of these Books, by Moths, and a thousand other Injuries of Time, by which they have been corrupted; while all kind of Learning, for so many Ages together, lay buried, as it were, in the Grave; the Worms on one side feeding on the Books of the Learned, and on the other, the Dust defacing them; so that it is impossible now to restore them to their first integrity. And this is the sad Fate that all sorts of Books have lain under; whence hath sprung up so great variety of Readings as are found almost in all Authors. I shall not here make any advantage of this; though there are some Doctors in the World, that have shewed us the way to do it, taking advantage from this Consideration to lessen the Authority that the Holy Scriptures of themselves ought to have in the esteem of all Men, under this colour, That even in these Sacred Writings there are sometimes found varieties of Reading, which yet are of very little or no Importance, as to the Ground-work. If we would tread in these Mens steps, and apply to the Writings of the Fathers, what they speak and conclude of the Scriptures, we could do it upon much better terms than they; there being no reason in the Earth to imagine, but that the Books of the Ancient Writers have suffered very much more than the Scriptures have; which have always been preserved in the Church, with much greater care than any other Books have been whatsoever, and which have been learnt by all Nations, and translated into all Languages, which all Sects have retained, both *Orthodox*
and

and Hereticks, Catholicks and Schismatics: Greeks and Latins, Moscovites and Ethiopians; observing diligently the Eye, and the Hand, one of the other: so that there could not possibly happen any remarkable Alteration in them, but that presently the whole World, as it were, would have exclaimed against it, and have made their Complaints to have resounded throughout the Universe. Whereas, on the contrary, the Writings of the Fathers have been kept, transcribed, and read in as careless a manner as could be; and that too but by very few, and in few Places, being but rarely understood by any, save those of the same Language; which is the cause that so many Faults have both the more easily crept into them, and likewise are the more hard to be discovered. Besides, that the particular Stile and Obscurity of some of them, renders the Errours the more important. As for example: Take me a *Tertullian*, and you shall find, that one little Word added, or taken away, or altered never so little, or a *Full-point* or *Comma* but out of its place, will so confound the Sense, that you will not be able to find what he would have. Whereas in Books of an easie, smooth, clear Style, as the Scriptures for the most part are, these Faults are much less prejudicial, seeing they cannot in any wise so darken the Sense, but that it will be still easie enough to apprehend it. But I shall pass by all these minute Punctilioes, as more suitable to the Enquiries of the *Pyrrhonian*s and *Academick*s, whose Business it is to question all things; than of Christians, who onely seek, in simplicity and sincerity of heart, whereon to build their Faith. I shall onely here take notice of such alterations as have been knowingly and voluntarily made in the Writings of the Fathers, purposely by our holding our peace, to disguise their Sense, or else to make them speak more than they meant. And this Forgery is of two sorts: The one hath been made use of with a good intention; the other out of malice: Again, The one hath been committed in Times long since past, the other in this last Age,

Age, in our own days, and the days of our Fathers. Lastly, the one is in the Additions made to Authors, to make them speak more than they meant; the other in subtracting from the Author, to eclipse and darken what he would be understood to say. Neither ought we to wonder, that even those of the honest, innocent, primitive Times also made use of these Deceits, seeing that, for a good end, they made no great scruple to forge whole Books, taking a much stranger and bolder course, in my opinion, than the other. For without all doubt it is a greater Crime to coin false Money, than to clip, or a little alter the true. This Opinion hath always been in the World, That to settle a certain and assured estimation upon that which is good and true (that is to say, upon what we account to be such) it is necessary that we remove out of the way, whatsoever may be a hinderance to it; and that there can be no great danger either in putting in, or at least in leaving any thing in, that may yield assistance to it, whatsoever the issue of either of these may in the end prove to be. And hence hath it come to pass, that we have so many ancient Forgeries, and also so many strange stories of Miracles, and of Visions; many taking a delight in feigning (as *S. Hierome* says) *great Combats which they have had with Devils in Desarts*: all which things are merely fabulous in themselves, and acknowledged too to be so by the most intelligent of them; yet notwithstanding are tolerated, and sometimes also recommended to them, forasmuch as they account them useful, for the settling or encreasing either of the Faith or Devotion of the People. What will you say, if at this day there are some, even of those Men who make profession of being the greatest haters in the world of these subtilties, who cannot nevertheless put forth any Book, but they must needs be lopping off, or falsifying whatsoever doth not wholly agree with the *Doctrine* they hold for true; fearing, as themselves say, lest such things coming to the eye of the simple Common People, might infect them, and possess their

Hier. ep. 4. ad Rustic. Tom. 1. Dæmonum contra se pugnantium potentia confingunt.

Heads with new Fancies: So firmly hath this Opinion been of old rooted in the Nature of Man. Now I will not here dispute, whether this proceeding of theirs be lawful, or not: I shall only say by the way, That in my judgment it is a very great Shame for the Truth, to be established or defended by such falsifications and shifts; as if it had not sufficient Weapons, both defensive and offensive, of its own; but that it must be fain to borrow of its Adversary: and it is besides a very dangerous course too; because that the discovery of any one Cheat, oftentimes renders their Cause, who practised it, wholly suspected; insomuch that, by making use of such slights as these in *Christian Religion*, either for the gaining to you, or confirming the faith of some of the simpler People, it is to be feared, that you may give distaste to the more understanding sort; and so by this means at length may chance to lose the Affections of the simpler sort too. But whatsoever this course of Cheating be, either in it self, or in its Consequences; it is sufficient for my purpose, that it hath been a long time practised in the Church, in matters of Religion; for proof whereof, I shall here produce some Instances. The Hereticks have always been accused of using this Artifice; but I shall not here set down what Alterations have been made by the Ancientest of them, even in the Scriptures themselves. If you would have a Taste of this Practice of theirs, go but to *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*, and you shall there see, how *Marcion* had clipped and altered the Gospel of *S. Luke*, and those Epistles of *S. Paul*, which he allowed to be such. Neither have those other of the Ages following been any whit more conscientious in this Particular, as may appear by those Complaints made by *Ruffinus*^a, in his Exposition upon the Apostle's Creed; and in another Treatise written by him purposely on this Subject: which is indeed contradicted by *S. Hierome*^b, but only in his Hypothesis, as to what concerned *Origen*; but not absolutely in his Thesis: and by the like Complaints of

^a *Ruffin. in Ex-
pos. Symbol. &
lit. de adul.
script. Origen.
Hier. ep. 65.
Tom. 2. & Apol.
2. contr. Ruff.*

^a *S. Cyril,*

S. Cyril, and diverse others of the Ancients; and among the Moderns, by those very Persons also who have put forth the General Council at Rome, who inform us, in the Preface to the First Volume, ^b That *Time*, and the Fraud of the Hereticks, have been the cause that the Acts of the said Council have not come to our hands, neither entire, nor pure and sincere, that which hath remained of them: and before, they grievously bewail, that we should be thus deprived of so great and so precious a Treasure. Now this Testimony of theirs, to me, is worth a thousand others; seeing it comes from such who in my opinion are evidently interested to speak quite otherwise. For if the Church of Rome, who is the pretended Mistress and Trustee of the Faith, hath suffered any part of the Councils to perish and be lost, which is esteemed by them as the Code of the Church: what then may the rest have suffered also? And what may not the Hereticks and Schismatics have been able to do? And if all these Evidences have been altered by their Fraud, how shall we be able by them to come to the knowledge of the Sense and Judgment of the Ancients? I confess I am very much amazed, to see these Men make so much reckoning of the Acts of the Councils, and to make such grievous Complaints against the Hereticks, for having suppressed some of them. For if these things are of such use, why then do they themselves keep from us the Acts of the Council of *Trent*, which is the most considerable Council, both for them, and their Party, that hath been held in the Christian Church these eight hundred years? Is it be a Crime in the Hereticks, to have kept from us these precious Jewels, why are not they blamed; lest the blame which they lay on others, may chance to return upon themselves? But doubtless there is something in the Business, that renders these Cases different: and I confess I wonder they publish it not; the simpler sort, for want of being otherwise informed; thinking perhaps, (though, it may be, without

^a *Cyrl. ep. ad Ich. Antioch. in Añ. Conc. Eph.*

^b *In Prefat. in Tom. 1. Concil. Gen.*

cause) that the reason why the Acts of this last Council are kept so close from them, is, because they know that the publishing of them would be either prejudicial, or at least unprofitable, to the Greatness of the Church of Rome: And they also again, on the other side, conceive, that in those other Acts, which they say have been suppressed by the Hereticks, there were wonderful Matters to be found, for the greater advancing and supporting of the Church of Rome. Whatsoever the Reason be, I cannot but commend the Ingenuity of these Men, who, notwithstanding their Interest, which seemeth to engage them to the contrary, have yet nevertheless confessed, That the Councils which we have at this day are neither entire, nor uncorrupted. But let us now examine, whether or no even the Orthodox Party themselves have not also contributed something to this Alteration of the Writings of the Primitive Church. *Epiphanius* reports, That in the true, and most correct Copies of *S. Luke*, it was written, that *Jesus Christ* says: and that this passage had been alledged by *S. Irenaeus*: but that the Catholics had blotted out this Word, fearing that the Hereticks might abuse it. Whether this Relation be true, or false, I must relie upon the Credit of the Author: But this I shall say, That it seems to me a clear Argument, That these Ancient Catholics would have made no great scruple of blotting out of the Writings of the Fathers any Word that they found to contradict their own Opinions and Judgments, and that with the same Liberty that they inform us the Hereticks used. For seeing that, as this Father informs us, they made no Conscience of making such an Attempt upon the Gospel of the Son of God himself, with how much greater confidence would they adventure to geld the Books of Men? Certainly *Ruffinus*, a Man so much applauded by *S. Hieronimus*, before their falling out, and so highly esteemed by *S. Augustinus*, who very much bewails the Breach betwixt those two, and whom *Gennadius* hath placed, with a very high Elogie of his Worth,

Epiphanius in
Anchor. Ὁρθό-
δοξοι δ' ἀπο-
λογοῦν τὸ ἡσδύ,
φωβουμένους, καὶ
μὴ νοήσαντες
αὐτὰ τὸ τέ-
λος, καὶ τὸ
ἰσχυρότατον.

^a Hier. ep. 3. ad
Flor. & ep. 41.
ad Ruffin.

^b Aug. ep. ad
Hier. qua est
inter ep. Hier.
93. & iterum
ep. 97.

^c Gennald. in
Catal. inter op.
Hier.

Worth, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, hath so filthily mangled, and so licentiously confounded the Writings of *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and others, which he hath translated into *Latin*, that you will hardly find a Page, in his Translations, where he hath not either cut off, or added, or at least altered something. *S. Hierome* also, although his Enemy, yet agrees with him in this Point; * confessing in several Places, That he had indeed translated *Origen*, but in such sort, as that he had taken liberty to cut away that which was dangerous, and had left only that which was useful, and had interpreted only what was Good, and had left out the Bad; that is to say, that if he found any thing there, that was not so consonant to the Common Judgment and Opinions of his Time, and so might possibly give Offence to the simple People, he suppressed it in his Translation; affirming also, that *S. Hilary*, and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Verceil*, had done the like. And again, in his Preface to *Eusebius* his Book, *De locis Hebraicis*, he confesseth, that he had left out that which he conceived was not worth remembering; and that he had altered the greatest part of it. And to make it appear, that this hath been his constant practice, we need but compare his *Latin* Chronology, with the *Greek* Fragments which remain of *Eusebius*; where you may plainly see what liberty these Ancients allowed themselves in the Writings of others. And what doubt is there to be made, but that those Men that came after them, following the Authority of so great an Example, carefully either took out of their Copies, or else left out of their Translations, the greatest part of whatever they found to be dissident to the Opinions and Customs which were received in the Church in the Times they lived in? and likewise, that for adding the greater Authority to them, some have had the boldness to add in some places what they conceived to be wanting? From whence else could it proceed, that we should have so many unreasonable breakings off in many places, and so many impertinent

*Hier. ep. 62.
ad Theoph. Alex. & lib. 2.
Apol. contra
Ruffin.*

*Hier. ep. 75.
Id. prefat. in
lib. Euseb. de
loc. Hebr.*

Additions

Additions in others, as there are to be met with frequently in the Ancient Authors? Whence otherwise should we have those many coarse Patches, that are ready to grate the Skin off our Fingers, in the midst of their soft Sattin and Velvet? and that inequality of Pulse and Breath, that we may observe in one and the same Author, in a quarter of an Hours reading? It would prove a troublesome business, to bring in here all the Examples of this kind that we might; there being scarcely any of the Moderns, that have taken any pains in writing upon the Fathers, but have noted and complained of this Abuse: and hence it is, that we oftentimes meet with such like Notes as this, in the Margins of the Fathers; *Hic videtur aliqui assuisse nugæ suas*, and the like. And that which is observed also by *Vives*, upon the XXI Book of *S. Augustine De Civitate Dei*,^a namely, That ten or twelve Lines which we find at this day in the XXIV Chapter of that Book, which contain a Positive Assertion of Purgatory, were not to be found in the ancient Manuscripts of *Bruges*, and of *Collen*; no, nor yet in that of *Paris*, as is noted by those that Printed *S. Augustine*, Anno 1531. One^b *Holsteinius* also, a *Dutchman*, testifieth, That he had met with divers Pieces among the Manuscripts of the King's Library, of *Chrysostome*, *Proclus*, and others, that had in like manner been scatched in divers Places by the like Hands, by some Interpolators of the later and worst Ages. But I may not here forget to note, That this Alteration hath taken place, even in the most sacred and Publick Pieces also; as namely, in the Liturgies of the Church, and the like; and I shall give you this Observation, to the end it may carry with it the greater gracefulness and weight, in the Expressions of *Andreas Masius*, a Man of singular and profound Learning; yet of such Candor and Integrity as renders him more admired, than his Knowledge doth; and which, together with his other Excellencies, endears him to all moderate Men of both Professions. This Learned Person taking

Tom. 4. op. Amb.
p. 211. lib. 2. de
Abra. in marg.
annot.

^a Lud. Vives
in lib. 21. de
Civ. Dei, c. 24.
In antiquis li-
bris Brug. &
Colon. non le-
guntur isti de-
cem aut duode-
cim qui sequun-
tur versus.

^b Holstein. op.
lim. pref. tom.
op. Atban. Ne-
que solius A-
thanasii ea for-
tuna, ut ineptis-
simorum inter-
polatorum ma-
nus subiret,
cum Chrysosto-
mi, Procli, ali-
orumq; homi-
lias similibus
sequiorum se-
culorum inepti-
is sedatas, in
iisdem regis
codicibus inve-
nerim.

taking notice, that the Liturgy of S. Basil was not so long in the Syriac, as in the Greek, gives this Reason of it: For *Andr. Masius* (saith he) Men have always been of such a humour and *Pres. in Liturg.* disposition in Matters of Religion, as that you shall scarcely find any that have been able to content themselves with the Ceremonies prescribed unto them by their Fathers, how holy soever they have been in themselves: so that we may observe, that in tract of time, according as the Prelates have thought fittest to move the Affections of the People to Piety and Devotion, many other things have been either added, or altered; and (which is much worse) many superstitious things have been introduced also: in which particular, I conceive the Christians of Syria to have been more moderate, and less extravagant than the Greeks and Latins, as having not the opportunity of enjoying that quiet and plentiful state of Life, which the others had. Thus the Learned *Masius*. And *Cassander*, who hath also turned over the Writings of the Ancients with innocent Hands, confesseth, and proveth out of other Authors, That the ancient Liturgies have by little and little been enlarged, by the several Additions of the Moderns. Thus proportionably as the World it self hath changed, so would it have whatever there remained of Antiquity, to suffer its Alterations also; imagining, that it was but reasonable that these Books should in some measure accommodate their Language to the Times, soasmuch as the Authors of them, in all probability, would have done so themselves, believing and speaking with the Times, had they been now living. Now to render them the more acceptable, they have used those Arts upon them, that some old Men are wont to practise; they have new coloured their Beard and Mustachioes, cutting off the rude and scattered hairs; they have polished their Skin, and given it a fresh Complexion, and taught them to speak with a new Voice, having changed also the Colour of their Habit: insomuch, that it is much to be feared, that we oftentimes do but lose our labour, when we search in these disguised Faces, and

Cassand. in Lib. liturg. cap. 2.

and Mouths, for the Complexion and Language of true Antiquity. Thus have they taught *Eusebius* to tell us, in his *Chronicon*, that the Fast of *Lent* was instituted by *Tesphorus*; and the Observation of the *Lords Day*, by *Pius*, both Bishops of *Rome*: which is a thing *Eusebius* never so much as dreamt of, as may appear out of some Manuscripts of him, where you shall find him wholly mute, as to these Points, wherewith the Moderns so much please themselves. But to return, and to take the Times all along as they lie, we may observe that this Licence grew stronger daily, as the Times grew worse; because that the greater the distance of time was from the Author's own Age, the more difficult the discovery of these Forgeries must necessarily be: the Example also of some of the most eminent Persons among the Ancients, who had sometimes made use of these sleights, adding on the other side boldness to every one, and courage to venture upon what they had done before them. For, I pray you, is it not a strange thing, that the Legats of Pope *Leo*, in the year 451. in the midst of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where were assembled 600 Bishops, the very Flower and Choice of the whole Clergy, should have the confidence to alledge the VI Canon of the Council of *Nice*, in these very Words, *That the Church of Rome bath always had the Primacy*: Words which are no more found in any Greek Copies of the Councils, than are those other pretended Canons of Pope *Zozimus*: neither do they yet appear in any Greek or Latin Copies, nor so much as in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, who lived about fifty years after this Council. When I consider, that the Legats of so holy a Pope would at that time have fastned such a Wen upon the Body of so Venerable a Canon, I am almost ready to think, that we scarcely have any thing of Antiquity left us, that is entire, and uncorrupt, except it be in Matters of Indifferency, or which could not have been corrupted, without much noise; and to take this Proceeding of theirs, which is come to our knowledge,

as

*Euseb. in Chro.
editionum. 2148.
& 2158. Vide
Scalig. in loc. p.
198 a. & 201
a.*

*See also Card.
Perron's Reply
to K. James,
Oserv. 2. c. 8.*

*Concil. Chal-
ced. Act. 16.
Tom. 2. Concil.*

as an advertisement purposely given us by Divine Providence, to let us see, with how much consideration, and advisement we ought to receive for the Council of *Nice*, and of *Constantinople*, and for *Cyprian*, and *Hierome's* Writings, that which goes at this day for such. About seventy four years after the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Dionysius Exiguus*, whom we before mentioned, made his Collection at *Rome*, which is since printed at *Paris*. *Cam Pottinger* Regis, out of very ancient Manuscripts, whosoever shall but look diligently into this Collection, shall find divers alterations in it, one whereof I shall instance in; only to shew, how ancient this Artifice hath been among Christians. The last Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which is the 163. of the *Greek Code* of the Church Universal, forbidding to read in Churches any other Books, than those which are Canonical; gives us withal a long Catalogue of them. *Dionysius Exiguus*, although he hath indeed inserted in his Collection Num. 162. the beginning of the said Canon, which forbiddeth to read any other Books in the Churches, besides the sacred Volumes of the Old and New Testament; yet hath he wholly omitted the Catalogue, or List of the said Books; fearing, as I conceive, lest the Tail of this Catalogue might scandalize the Church of *Rome*; where, many years before, Pope *Innocent* had, by an express Decree to that purpose, put into the Canon of the Old Testament, the *Maccabees*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobias*, *Judith*, &c. of which Books the Fathers of the Council of *Laodicea* make no mention at all, naming but XXXII. Books of the Old Testament; and in the Catalogue of the New, utterly omitting the *Apocalypse*. If any Man can shew me any better reason of this suppression, let him speak; as for my part I conceive this the most probable that can be given; however, we are not at all bound to divine what the motive should be, that made *Dionysius* cut off that part of the Canon. For, whatsoever the reason were, it serves the turn well enough, to make it appear, that at

*Innocent. 1.
ep. 3. ad Exup.
Theol. c. 7.*

that time they made no great conscience to curtail, if need were, the very Text of the Canons themselves. So that if we had not had the good luck to have had this Canon entire, and perfect, in divers other Monuments of Antiquity; as namely, in the Collections of the Greeks, and also in the Councils of the French Church: we should at this Day have been wholly ignorant; what the judgment of the Fathers of *Illyria* was; touching the Canon of the holy Scriptures, in which is one of the principal Constitutions of this Church. It is true, I doubt it, that the Latins have their revenge upon the Greeks; reproaching them in like manner; because that in their Translation of the Code of the Canons of the *African* Church, they have left the Books of the *Maccabees* quite out of the Roll of the Books of the Scripture, which is set down in the 24th Canon of their Collection, expressly against the Faith of all the Latin copies of this Collection, both Printed, and Manuscript; as Cardinal *Perron* affirmeth: and yet there are some others, who assure us, that no Book of *Maccabees* appears at all in this Canon; in the Collection of *Cyrenius*, a Bishop of *Africa*, not yet printed. The Greek *Euda* reports with us VII. Canons of the II. Council of *Constantinople*; which are in like manner found both in *Balsamon*, and in *Zonaras*; and also in the Greek and Latin Edition of the General Council, printed at Rome. The three last of the said do not appear at all, in the Latin *Code of Damiani*, though they are very considerable points, as to the business they relate to, which is: The Order in Proceeding in passing judgment upon Bishops accused; and in receiving such persons, who forsaking their Communion with Hereticks, desire to be admitted into this Church. It is a very hard to say, what should appear the Collection of this Council thus: But this I am very well assured of, that in the VII. Canon, which is one of those here hath omitted, and which treateth of judging of Bishops accused, there is not the least mention made, of *appealing to Rome* upon any Reserved Cases, wherein it is not permitted to any, save only to the Pope himself,

Perron Repl.
l. 1. c. l.

* *Christ. Jus.*
Rel. in Not. ad
Can. 24. Cod.
Gr. Eccles.
Afric.

* *Christ. Jus.*
Rel. in Not. ad
Can. 24. Cod.
Gr. Eccles.
Afric.

himself, to judge a Bishop: the power of hearing and determining all such matters being here wholly, and absolutely referred to the Provincial and Diocesan Synods. Now whether the Greeks added this tail to the Council of *Constantinople*, (which yet is not very probable,) or whether *Dionysius*, or the Church of *Rome* curtailed this Council: it will still that way also appear clearly, that this boldness in gelding, or making Additions to Ecclesiastical Writings, is not at all us'd in these days. After the *Canons of Constantinople*, there follow in the Greek Code, VIII. Canons of the General Council of *Ephesus*, set down also both by *Balsamon*, and *Zonaras*, and printed with the Acts of the said Council of *Ephesus*, in the First Tome of the Roman Edition. But *Dionysius Exiguus* hath discarded them all, not giving us any one of them: and you will hardly be able to give a handsome guess, what his reason should be: unless perhaps it were, because that the business of the eighth Canon displeased him: which is, that the Bishops of *Cyprus* had their Ordinations within themselves, without admitting the Patriarch of *Antioch* to have any thing to do with it: and that the same course ought to be observed in all other Provinces, and Diocesses: so that no Bishop should have power to intrude into a Province, which had not from the beginning been under His, and His Predecessors jurisdiction: * For fear, that under the pretence of the Administration of Sacred Offices, the pride of a Secular Power should thrust it self into the Church, and so by this means we should lose (said these good Fathers) by little and little, before we were aware, the Liberty that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all mankind, hath purchased for us with his own Blood. I know not, whether this Constitution, and these words, have put the Latines into any fright, or not: or whether any other reason hath moved them, not to receive the Canons of the Council of *Ephesus* into their Code. But this is certain, that they do not appear any where among them; and it is now at the least seven hun-

Anast. Bibli.
oth. Praef. in
Synod. VIII.
Tom. 3. Concil.
gen.

ded and fifty years and upward, that Anastasius Bibliothecarius the Popes Library-Keepers testified, that these Canons were not any where to be found, in the most Ancient Latin Copies: withal accusing the Greeks of having forged them. But let them try out this dispute among themselves; yet whether these Canons were forged by the Greeks; or whether they have been blotted out of this Council, and smothered by the Latins; it is still a clear case, that the Cheat is very near of eight hundred years standing. But in the next example that follows, the business is evidently clear, without any more ado. For whereas the Greek Code, Numb. 206, sets before us in the XXVIII. Canon of the General Council of Chalcedon, a Decree of those Fathers, by which, conformably to the First Council of Constantinople, they ordained that Seeing that the City of Constantinople was the seat of the Senate, and of the Empire, and enjoyed the same Privileges with the City of Rome; that therefore it should in like manner be advanced to the same Height and Greatness in Ecclesiastical Affairs, being the second Church in order, after Rome; and that the Bishop of it should have the Ordaining of Metropolitans, in the Three Diocesses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace; which Canon is found both in Balsamon and Zonaras; and also hath the Testimony of the greater part of the Ecclesiastical Historians, both Greek, and Latine, that it is a Legitimate Canon of the Council of Chalcedon; in the Acts of which Council, at this day also Extant, it is set down at large: yet notwithstanding in the Collection of Dionysius Exiguus, this Canon appears not at all, no more than as if there had never been any such thing thought of at Chalcedon. We know very well, that Pope Leo, and some others of his Successors rejected it: but he that promised us, that he would make an orderly Digestion of the Canons of the Councils, and translate them out of the Greek; why, or how did he, or ought he to omit, this so remarkable a Canon? If all other Evidences had been lost how should

we have been able so much as to have guessed, that any such thing was ever treated of at *Chalcedon*? Where, or by what means could we have learnt, what the opinion was of the DCXXX. Fathers, which met here together, touching this Point; which is the most important one of all those that are at this day controverted betwixt us? And it is now eleven hundred years, and upward, since this Omission was first on foot. And who will pass his word to us, that among so many other Writings, whether of Councils, or particular Mens Works, whether Greek or Latine, the like liberty hath not been at any time used? Rather by these Forgeries which have come to our knowledge, who can doubt, but that there have been many other the like, which we are ignorant of? Thou hast gone along innocently perhaps, reading these Books of the Ancients, and believing, thou there findest the pure sense of Antiquity; and yet thou seest here, that from the beginning of the Sixth-Century they have made no scruple of cutting off, from the most Sacred Books they had, whatsoever was not agreeable to the gust of the Times. And therefore, though we had no more against them than this, it were, in my judgment, a sufficient reason to move us to go on here very warily, and, as they say, With a stiff Rein, through this whole business. In the next place, there is a very observable Corruption in the Epistle of *Adrian* I. to the Emperour *Constantine*, in the time of the Second Council of *Nice*. For in the Latine Collection of *Anastasi*, made about seven hundred and fifty years since, *Adrian* is there made to speak very highly, and magnificently of the supremacy of his See, and he rebukes the Greeks very shrewdly, for having conferred upon *Tarasius*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Title of *Universal Bishop*. And all this while, there is not so much as one word of this to be found, neither in the Greek Edition of the said VII. Council, nor yet in the common Latine ones. The Romanists accuse the Greeks of having suppressed these two Clauses: and the Greeks again

Concil. VII.

Aff. 2. Tom. 3.

Concil.

again accuse the Romanists, of having foisted them in: neither is it easie to determine, on which side the guilt lies. However, it is sufficient for me, that wheresoever the fault lies, it evidently appeareth hence, that this curtailling and adding to Authors, according to the interest of the present Times, hath now a very long time been in practice amongst Christians. Which appears also very evidently, in the next piece following in the same Council, namely, the Epistle of *Adrian* to *Tarasius*; which is quite another thing in the Greek, from what it is in *Anastasius* his Latin Translation; and that in Points too of as high importance, as those other before mentioned.

Conc. VII. Añ.
5. Tom. 3. Conc.

Ib. p. 557.

And so in the V. Añ likewise, where both in the Greek Text, and also in the Old Latin Translation, *Tarasius* is called *Universal Bishop*; this Title appears not at all in *Anastasius* his Translation. In the same Añ the Fathers accuse the *Iconoclasts*, of having cut out many Leaves out of a certain Book in the Library at *Constantinople*; and that at a certain City called *Photia*, they had burned to the number of Thirty Volumes; and that besides all this, they had rased the Annotations out of a certain Book; and all this out of the malice they bore against Images, which these Books spake well and favourably of. But yet I do not see, how we can excuse the Romanists, from being guilty of corrupting *Anastasius*, in those passages above noted; nor yet of the injury they do *Ensebius*, in the Exposition which they give of some certain words of His, only to render Him odious; * objecting against Him, that He saith, *That the Carnal Form of Jesus Christ was changed into the nature of the Deity*; whereas, all that he saith is, *That it was changed by the Deity dwelling in it*. Whence it appears, how much credit we are to give to these Men, when they alledge here and there divers strange and unheard of pieces; and on the contrary, scornfully reject whatever their Adversaries bring as, for example, they did a remarkable Passage, alledged by them out of *Epiphanius*: which Passage, they refused as suppo-

* Concil VII.
Añ. 6. advers.
Synod. Iconocl.
Sess. 5. ὅτι μετα-
τέλλαντες τὴν
σάρκα αὐτοῦ
μορφὴν εἰς τὴν
τῆς θεότητος
οὐσίαν. Ibid. p.
625 ἡ ἑνστα-
τος αὐτοῦ μορ-
φὴ πρὸς τῆς
θεοικίας αὐ-
τῇ θεότητι
μετατέλλαν-
σα.

stititious;

titious: Because (said they) if Epiphanius had been of *lib. p. 616. E*
 the same judgment with the Iconoclasts, he would then in his
 Punarium, have reckoned the Reverencing of Images *ἡ τῶν εἰδώ-
λων ποίησιν*
 among the other Heresies: And may not a man by the same *ἁλλοτρίαν τῆς
κελεύσεως ἑγίνω-
σκον, εἰς τὸν
δειδμὸν τῶν
αἰρέσεων*
 reason as well conclude, that Epiphanius was a favourer *ταύτῃ κατέ-
ταξεν αὐν.*
 of the Iconoclasts: for otherwise he would have reckon-
 ed their opinion among the rest of the Heresies by him
 reckoned upon: that not here say any thing of their refusing
 so boldly, and confidently, those Passages alledged out of
 Theophrastus, Anaxagoras, and others. Since that time you shall
 find nothing more ordinary, in the Books both of the
 Greeks and the Latins; than the like reproaches, that they
 mutually cast upon each other, of having corrupted the
 Pieces and Evidences wherein their cause was the most
 concerned: As for example, at the Council of Florence,
 Mark Bishop of Ephesus disputing concerning the Pro-
 cession of the Holy Ghost, had nothing to answer to two
 passages that were alledged against him; the one out of
 that piece of Epiphanius, which is entituled, *Anacrotus: Concil Florent.*
 the other out of S. Basil's Writings, against Eunomius; *Αἱ. 18. Το. 4.*
 but that that piece of Epiphanius had been long since cor-
 rupted; and so likewise of that other passage out of S. Basil, *(conc. τὸ το τὸ
εἰβλίον ἐπὶ
διεσθαρμύων
περὶ πολλῶν
χρόνων.*
 that some other who favoured the opinion of the La-
 tins, had accommodated that place to their sense: withall
 protesting, that in all Constantinople there was but four
 Copies only of the said Book that had that passage alledge-
 d by the Latins; but that there was in the said City above
 a thousand other Copies wherein those words were not to
 be found at all. Then had the Latins nothing to return up-
 on them more readily; than that it had been the ordinary
 practice, not of the West, but of the East, to corrupt
 Books; and for proof hereof, they presently cite a pas-
 sage out of S. Cyril, which we have formerly set down:
 wherein notwithstanding he speaks not any thing, save on-
 ly of the Hereticks; that is to say, of the Nestorians, who
 were said to have falsified the Epistle of Athanasius to
 Epiphanius; but not a word there of all the Eastern men;

much less of the whole Greek Church. The Greeks then charged back upon the Latines the story of Pope *Zozimus*, mentioned in the preceding Chapter. And thus did they bandy stilly one against the other, each of them, as may be easily perceived, having much more appearance of reason and of truth, in their accusation of their Adversary, than in excusing or defending themselves. I shall here give you also another the like answer, made by one *Gregorius*, a Greek Monk, a strong maintainer of the Union made at Florence, to a passage cited by *Mark Bishop of Ephesus*, out of a certain Book of *John Damascene*; affirming, that *The Father only is the Cause*, to wit, in the Trinity: *These words* (saith this Monk) *are not found in any of the ancient Copies*: which is an evident argument, that it had been afterwards soisted in by the Greeks, to bring over this Doctor to their opinion. *Petrus* hath in like manner lately quitted his hands of an objection, taken out of the 68. Canon of the Apostles, against the Fasting on *Saturdays*, which is observed in the Roman Church: pretending, that the Greeks have falsified this Canon. But whosoever desires to see how full of uncertainty the Writings of this later Antiquity are, let him but read the VIII. Council which is pretended by the Western Church, to be a general Council, and but compare the Latine and the Greek Copies together, withal taking especial notice of the Preface of *Anastase Bibliothecarius*; who after he hath very sharply reproved the Ambition of the Greeks, and accused the Canons which they produce of the Third General Council, as Forged, and supposititious; to make short work with them, he says in plain terms, that the Greeks have corrupted all the Councils, except the First. What then have we now left us to build upon, seeing that this Corruption hath prevailed even as far as on the Councils, which are the very heart of the Ancient Monuments of the Church? Neither yet hath the *Nicene Creed*, which hath been approved and made sacred in so many General Councils,

*Apol. Gregor.
Mon. Protosyn.
contr. Ep. Marc.
Eph. Tom. 4.
Concil.*

*Petrus Not.
in Epiphan.*

been able to escape these Alterations. For, not to speak any thing of these Expressions, which are of little importance; *De Calis*, from Heaven; *secundum Scripturas*, according to the Scriptures; *Deum de Deo*, God of God; which Cardinal *Julian* affirmed, at the Council of Florence, were to be found in some Creeds, and in some others were not; it is now the space of some Ages past, since the Eastern Church accused the Western of having added *Filius* and the Son, in the Article touching the Procession of the Holy Ghost; the Western Men as senselessly charging back upon them again, that they have cut it off: Which is an Alteration, though it seem but trivial in appearance, that is of great importance, both to the one side, and to the other, for the decision of that great Controversie, which hath hitherto caused a separation betwixt them; namely, *Whether or no the Holy Ghost proceed from the Son, as well as from the Father?* Which is an evident Argument, that either the one or the other of them, hath, out of a desire to do service to their own Side, laid false hands upon this Sacred Piece. Now whatever hath been attempted in this kind by the Ancients, may well pass for Innocence, if compar'd but with what these Later Times have dared to do; their Passion being of late years so much heated, that laying all Reason and Honesty aside, they have most miserably and shamelessly corrupted all sorts of Books, and of Authors. Of those Men that go so desperately to work, we cannot certainly speak of their baseness as it deserveth: and in my judgment, *Laurentius Bochartus*, in his

Preface to the *Decreta Ecclesie Gallicane*, had all the reason in the world to detect these Men, as People of a most wretched and malicious spirit, who have most miserably gelded and mangled so infinite a number of Authors, both Sacred and Prophane, Ancient and Modern: their ordinary custom being, to spare no Person, no not Kings, nor even *S. Lewis himself*, out of whose *Pragmatica*

Laur. Bochart. Prefat. in Decret. Eccles. Gal. Taceo innumeros Auctores sacros, profanos, veteres, recentiores, ab istis tam improbi quam infelices ingenii hominibus miserabiliter decurtatos, vel ipsis Regibus parcero non assuetis, nedum *S. Ludovico*, cujus *Pragmatica* (ut vocant) *Sanctionis* articulos nonnullos, maxime ad rei Gallicæ statum

peritentes, abs Bibliotheca illa SS. PP. Constitutionibus Regiis; & statutis Episcoporum quorundam Synodali-
bus Reginae urbium Lutetiae nuper impressis expunxerunt. Vix, iterum vix, ut cum Vidente, exclamem, Nebulonibus, qui tales Musarum Castitati & integritati venerandae non solum infidias struunt, sed & Musas ipsas impudenter, & nequiter subdolo religionis zelo, nullius frontis homines devirginant, fucumque istum pietatis nomen eminentium, inter Pias fraudes numerant.

A Treatise of

Sanctio (as they call it) they have blotted out some certain Articles (principally those which concerned the State of France) out of the Bibliotheca Patrum, the Constitutiones Regiae, and the Synodical Decrees of certain Bishops, lately Printed at Paris. Wo, wo (to speak with the Prophet) to these mischievous Knaves, who do not only lay such treacherous snares for the venerable Chastity and Integrity of the Musæ, but do also most impudently and wickedly disfigure, under a false and counterfeit pretence of Religion, even the Musæ themselves; accounting this juggling to be but a kind of Pious Fraud. But we do not here write against these Men: it is sufficient for us to give a hint only of that which is as clear as the Sun; namely, that these Men have altered, and corrupted, by their Additions in some places, and gelding of others, very many of the Evidences of the Ancients Belief. These are they, who in this Period of the XII

* Cypr. Ep. 12. Extr. Audiant quæso patienter Consilium nostrum; expectent regressionem nostram, ut cum ad vos per Dei misericordiam venerimus, convocati Coepiscopi plures secundum Domini doctrinam, & Confessorum præsentiam, beatorum Martyrum literas & desideria examinare possimus. Cypr. Pamel. & Gryph. Lugd. An. 1537. l. 3. ep. 16. p. 148. *Alia Editiones, ut Manutii, item Morellii, Par. An. 1568. p. 158. legunt Secundum vestram quoque sententiam.*

Epistle of S. Cyprian, written to the People of Carthage; * I desire that they would but patiently hear our Counsel, &c. that our Fellow-Bishops being assembled together with us, we may together examine the Letters, and Desires of the Blessed Martyrs, according to the Doctrine of our Lord, and in the presence of the Confessors, & secundum vestram quoque sententiam, and according as you also shall think convenient; have maliciously left out these words, & secundum vestram quoque sententiam: By which we may plainly understand, that these Men would not by any means have us know, that the Faithful People had ever any thing to do with, or had any Vote in the Affairs of the Church. These be they, who

who in his Fortieth Epistle, have changed ^a *Petram* into *Petrum*, a *Rock* into *S. Peter*; and who following the steps of the ancient Corrupters, have foisted in, in his Tract, *De Unitate Ecclesie*, here and there, as they thought fit, whole Periods, and Sentences, against the faith of the best and most uncorrupted Manuscripts: as for example, in this place; ^b *He built his Church on him alone (S. Peter) and commanded him to feed his sheep*: and in this, ^c *He established one sole Chair*: and this other, ^d *The Primacy was given to Peter, to shew, that there was but one Church, and one Chair of Christ*: and this, ^e *Who left the Chair to Peter, on which he had built his Church*: Which are Ad-
ditions that every one may see what they aim at. These are the Men who cannot conceal the ^f regret they have for not having suppressed an Epistle of *Firmilianus*, Archbishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, who was one of the most Eminent Persons in his Time; which Epistle *Mamertinus* had indeed omitted in his *Roman* Edition of *S. Cyprian*; but was afterward put in by *Morellius* in his, amongst the Epistles of *S. Cyprian*, to whom it was written: and all because it informs us, how the other Bishops in ancient Times had dealt with the Pope. So that we may hence, observe, of what temper these Men have always been; and may guess how many the like Pieces have been killed in the Nest. Out of the like Shop it is, that poor *S. Ambrose* is sent abroad, but so ill accounted, and in so pitiful a plight, that *Nicolas Faber* hath very much bewailed the corruption of him. For those Gentle-

^a *Cyp. Pamel. Epist. 40. p. 7. Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata. Gryph. An. 1537. p. 52. Morel. An. 1564. p. 124. habebant, super Petram.*

^b *Cyp. Pamel. p. 254. Super illum unum edificat Ecclesiam suam & illi pascendas mandat oves suas. Quae verba desiderantur in Edit. Gryph. anno 1537 & Morel anno 1564.*

^c *Cyp. Pamel. ibid. Unam Cathedram Constituit: Quae verba desiderantur in Editione Gryphii, anno 1537. & Morel. anno 1564.*

^d *Cyp. Pamel. ibid. Primatus Petro datur, ut una Ecclesia Christi, & Cathedra una monstretur; & pastores sunt omnes; sed unus grex ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur: quae verba omnia, exceptis illis, (ut una Ecclesia monstretur) non habebantur in Edit. Gryph. neque Morel nisi sup.*

^e *Cyp. Pamel. p. 254. Qui Cathedram Petri, super quam fundata est Ecclesia, ab- sunt à Gryph. & Morel. Edit.*

^f *Pamel. in arg. ep. 75. Cyp. Atque adeo fortassis consultus foret, nunquam editam fuisse hanc Epistolam; ita ut putent, consulto illam omisisse Manutium.*

Nic. Faber, in ep. ad Front. Ducaum in O. pusc p. 216.

men, who have published him, being over-ingenuous. (as he saith) in another mans Works, have changed, mangled, and transposed divers things; and particularly they have separated the Books of the *Interpellation* of *Job*, and of *David*, which were put together in all other Editions; and to do this, they have, by no very commendable example, foisted in, and altered divers things: and they have likewise done as much in the *First Apologie* of *David*; and more yet in the *Second*, where they have raised out of the eighth Chapter five or six Lines, which are found in all the ancient Editions of this Father. They have also attributed to this Author certain Tracts which are not his; as that, *Of the Forbidden Tree*, and that other upon the last Chapter of the *Proverbs*. And we may by the way also take notice, That this is the Edition which they followed, who printed *S. Ambrose* his Works at *Paris*, *Anna* 1603. Such hands as these they were that have so villainously curtailed the Book *Of the Lives of the Popes*, written by *Anastasius*, or rather by *Damasus*; leaving out, in the very Entry of it, the Authors Epistle Dedicatory, written to *S. Hierome*, because it did not so well suit with the present temper of *Rome*: leaving out in like manner in the Life of *S. Peter*, the Conclusion of all, which I shall here set down, as it is found in all Manuscripts. * He con-

* Hic B. Clementem Episcopum consecravit, eiq; cathedram, vel Ecclesiam omnem disponendam commisit, dicens: Sicut mihi gubernandi tradita est à Domino meo Jesu Christo potestas ligandi solvendiq; ita & ego tibi committo, ut ordines dispositores diversarum causarum, per quos actus Ecclesiasticus proficietur; & tu minimè in curis sæculi deditus reperiaris, sed solummodo ad orationem, & prædicationem populi vacare stude. Post hanc dispositionem Martyrio coronatur. *Habentur hæc, ex Euchar. Salm. ad Sirmund. cap. 5. Editio Par. anno 1621. p. 664.*

secrated *S. Clement Bishop*, and committed to his Charge the Ordering of his Seat, or of the whole Church; saying, As the Power of Binding and Loosing was delivered to me by my Lord, *Jesus Christ*, in like manner do I commit to thy charge the appointing of such Persons, as may determine of such Ecclesiastical Causes; may arise; that Thou thy self mayst not be taken up with worldly cares, but mayst apply thy whole studies only to Prayer, and Preaching to the People. After he had thus di-

posed

Spoken of his Seat, he was crowned with Martyrdom. This is the Peltament that S. Peter made; but it hath been suppressed and kept from us, because in it he hath charged his Successors with such Duties as are quite contrary both to their Humour and Practice. And in another place, in the same Book, instead of *Papa Urbis*, that is to say, *The Pope or Bishop of the City*, namely, of Rome, as all Manuscripts have it; these worshipful Gentlemen will needs have us read, *Papa Orbis*, that is, *The Bishop of the whole World*; forasmuch as this is now the Style of the Court, and this hath now long since grown to be the Title of the Bishop of Rome. These are the Men, who in * *Fulbertus*, Bishop of Chartres, where he cites that remarkable Passage of S. Augustine, *Thi. then is a Figure, commanding us to communicate of the Passion of the Lord*; have inserted these words, *Figura ergo est, dicit Hereticus; It is a Figure then, will an Heretick say*; cunningly making us believe this to be the saying of an Heretick, which was indeed the true sense and meaning of S. Augustine himself, and so cited by *Fulbertus*. These be the very Men also, who in S. Gregory have changed *Exercitus Sacerdotum*, into *Exitus Sacerdotum*; reading in the 38 Epistle of his fourth Book, thus; *All things, &c. which have been foretold, are accomplished. The King of Pride (he speaks of Antichrist) is at hand; and which is horrible to be spoken, the Failing, (or end) of Priests is prepared*: Whereas the Manuscripts (and it is so cited by *Bellarmino* too) read, *an Army of Priests is prepared for him*. These be they who have made *Aimonia* to say, * That the Fathers of the pretended VIII General Council had ordained the Adoration of Images, according as had been before determined by the Orthodox Doctors: Whereas he

Anast. in Stephano V. p. 215. Dei ordinante providentia Papa Orbis consecratus est. M. habent. Papa Urbis: ex Salm in Euchar. ad Sir- mand. p. 454. Vid. Fulbert. Canon. Edit. d. Villeris, anno 1608. Par. p. 168.

Gregor. M. ep. l. 4. ep. 38. Omnis, &c. quæ prædictæ sunt, sunt. Rex superbia prope est; & quod dicimus est. Sacerdotum ei præparatur exitus. M. habent, Sacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus. Ex Tho. James. in Vindicta. Gregor. loc. 666. quo modo citatur etiam à Bellarmino hic locus, lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. c. 13. sect. Addit. & extr. c. sect. pari ratione.

** Aimon. de Gest. Franc. l. 5. c. 8. In qua Synodo, (quam Octavam Universalem illuc convenientes appellarunt,) de Imaginibus adorandis, secundum quod Orthodoxi Doctores antea definierant, statuerunt: legendum, Ahter quam Orthodoxi definierant, sic enim legit ipse Baron. Annal. Tom. X. an. 840.*

wrote quite contrary, *That they had ordained otherwise than had been formerly determined by the Orthodox Doct.* as appears plainly, not only by the Manuscripts, but also by the most ancient Editions of this Author; and even by Card. Baronius his alledging of this Passage also, in the Tenth Tome of his Annals, *An. Dom. 869.* These are they who have quite rased out this following Passage out of

Ὁρᾷ πάλιν νόμον συνιστάμενος,
καὶ πάλιν ἀγγέλλας σὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ
γινώσκει ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ
νόμος ἐξῆλθεν. Ἐμνησθε
τοῦτο καὶ ἐφύλαττε τὸ ἐξῆθ,
ὥς καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀσσοκίᾳ
συνώδον νόμον καλῶσαι τὸ
πρὸς ταῖς ἀγγέλοις, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Ἐφ' οὗ καὶ
ναὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχι-
εραλεῖν Μιχαὴλ πολλοί.

Occumenius; For they who defended and favoured the Law, introduced also the worshipping of Angels; and that, because the Law had been given by them. And this Custom continued long in Phrygia, insomuch that the Council of Laodicea made a Decree, forbidding to make any Addresses to Angels, or to pray to them: whence also it is, that we find many Temples among them, erected to Michael the Archangel: Which Passage David Hæfchelius, in his Notes

upon the Books of *Origen* against *Celsus*, p. 483. witnesseth, That himself had seen and read, in the Manuscripts of *Occumenius*; and yet there is no such thing to be found in any of the Printed Copies: Who would believe but that the *Breviaries* and *Missals* should have escaped their Ra-

Simon. Vigor l.
1. de la Mo
narch Ecclesi-
astique, ch. 1.
N. Paolo di
Kinet. Apol.
contr. Bellaren.
Sic legitur in
B. ev. Clement.
VIII. jussu re-
cognitis, p. 937.

zour? Yet, as it hath been observed by Persons of eminent both Learning and Honesty, where it was read, in the Collect on S. Peter's day, heretofore thus, *Dens, qui B. Petro Apostolo tuo, collatis clavibus regni caelestis; animas ligandi, & solvendi Pontificium tradidisti*: that is, O God, who hast committed to thy Apostle S. Peter, by giving him the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom, the Episcopal Power of Binding and Loosing Souls: in the later Editions of these Breviaries and Missals, they have wholly left out the word *Animas, Souls*; to the end that People should not think that the Popes Authority extended only to Spiritual Affairs, and not to Temporal also. And so likewise in the Gospel upon the Tuesday following the Third Sunday in Lent, they have Printed, * *Dixit Jesus Discipulis suis*; that is, *Jesus said to his Disciples*; where-

* Sic legitur in
Breviar. Clem.
VIII jussu re-
cogn. p. 369.

as it was in the old Books, ¹ *Respicens Jesus in Discipulos, dixit Simoni Petro, si peccaverit in te frater tuus: Jesus looking back upon his Disciples, said unto Simon Peter, If thy Brother have offended against thee, &c.* cunningly omitting those words relating to *Simon Peter*, for fear it might be thought that our Saviour Christ had made *S. Peter*, that is to say, the Pope, subject to the Tribunal of the Church, to which he there sends him. And if the Council of *Trent* would but have hearkned to *Thomas Passio*, a Canon of *Valencia*, they should have blotted out of the *Pontifical* all such Passages as make any mention of the Peoples giving their Suffrage and Consent in the Ordination of the Ministers of the Church; and, among the rest, that, where the Bishop at the Ordination of a Priest saith, *That it was not without good reason, that the Fathers had ordained, That the Advice of the People should be taken touching the Election of those Persons who were to serve at the Altar; to the end, that having given their Assent to their Ordination, they might the more readily yield Obedience to those who were so Ordained.* The meaning of this honest Canon was, that to take away all such Authorities from the Hereticks, the best way would be to blot them all out of the *Pontifical*, to the end that there might be no trace or footstep of them left remaining for the future. But they have not contented themselves with corrupting onely in this manner some certain Books, out of which perhaps we might have been able to discover what the Opinion and Sense of the Ancients have been; but they have also wholly abolished a very great number of others. And for the better understanding hereof, we are to take notice, that the Emperours of the first Ages took all possible care for the stifling and abolishing all such Writings as were declared prejudicial to the

² *Sic legebatur in Brev. impres. Paris. 1492. per Jo. de Prato.*

³ *Pontif. Rom. de Ordinat. Presbyt. fol. 38. Neque enim fuit frustra à Patribus institutum, ut de electione illorum, qui ad regimen altaris adhibendi sunt, consultatur etiam populus; quia de vira & conservatione præsentandi, quod nonnumquam ignoratur à pluribus, scitur à paucis; & necesse est, ut facilius ei quis obedientiam exhibeat ordinato, cui assensum præbuerit ordinando.*

⁴ *Pet. Soarez. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 7.*

the True Faith; as namely, the Books of the *Arians*, and *Nestorians*, and others; which were under a great penalty forbidden to be read, but were to be wholly suppress'd and abolished, by the Appointment of these ancient Princes. The Church it self also did sometimes call in the Books of such Persons as had been dead long before, by a common consent of the Catholick Party; as soon as they perceived any thing in them that was not consonant to the present Opinion of the Church; as it did at the Fifth General Council, in the Business of *Theodorus*, *Ibodorius*, and *Ibas*, all three Bishops, the one of *Mopsuestia*, the other of *Cyprus*, and the third of *Edissa*; anathematizing each of their several Writings; notwithstanding these Persons had been all dead long before: dealing also, even in the quiet times of the Church, with *Origen* in the same manner, after he had been now dead about three hundred years. The Pope then hath not failed to imitate, now for the space of many Ages, both the one and the other of these rigorous Courses, withal encreasing the harshness of them from time to time: in so much that, in case any of the Opinions of the Ancients hath been by chance found at any time to contradict his, we are not to make any doubt, but that he hath very carefully and diligently suppress'd such Pieces, without sparing any, though they were written perhaps two, three, four, or five hundred years before; more than the others. As for example: It is at this day disputed, whether or no the Primitive Church had in their Temples, and worshipp'd the Images of Christ, and of Saints. This Controversie hath been sometime very eagerly, and with much heat, and for a long time together, debated in the Greek Church. That Party which maintained the Affirmative, bringing the business before the VII Council, held at *Nicea*, it was there ordained, That it should be unlawful for any Man to have the Books of the other Party; withal charging every Man to bring what Books they had of that Party to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to do with them, as we must conceive

Conc. V. Col.
VIII.

Id. Col. V. &
Col. VIII. A-
nath. XI.

Concil. VII.
Act. 8. Car. 9.

conceive, according as had been required by the Legats of Pope Adrian; that is, *that they should burn all those Books, which had been written against the Venerable Images*; including, no doubt, within the same Condemnation, all such Writings of the Ancients also, as seem'd not to favour Images; as namely, the Epistle of Eusebius to Constantinus; and that of Epiphanius to John of Hierusalem, and others, which are not now extant, but were, in all probability, at that time abolished. For, as for the Epistle of Epiphanius, that which we now have, is only S. Hieromes Translation of it, which happened to be preserv'd in the Western parts; where the passion in the behalf of Images was much less violent, than it was in the Eastern: but the Original Greek of it is no where to be found.

Adrian II. in his Council ordain'd in like manner, that the Council held by Photius, against the Church of Rome, should be burnt, together with his other Books, and all the Books of those of his Party, which had been written against the See of Rome: and he commanded the very same thing also in the VIII. Council, which is accounted by the Latines for a General Council. It is impossible, but that in these Fires very many Pieces must needs have perished, which might have been of good use to us, for the discovering what the opinion of the Ancients was, whether touching Images, which was the business of the VII. Council; or that other Controversie, touching the Power of the Pope; which was the principal Point debated in the Synod held by Photius; some of whose Pieces they, for the self same reason, do at this day keep at Rome under Lock and Key, which doubtless they would long ere this have published, had they but made as much for the Pope, as in all probability they make against him. This rigorous proceeding against Books came at length to that height, as that Leo X. at the Council of Lateran, which brake up An. 1518. decreed, *That no Book should be printed, but what had first been diligently examined, at Rome,*

Idem Ad. 5. ἵνα πάντα τὰ συγγράμματα τὰ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ στίλων εἰκόνων ῥηθὲν καὶ ἀναθεματισμῷ ἀνεχθῇ. ἢ πρὸ τοῦτο παροδοῖται.
Cap. I. Habetur in Concilio.
VIII. Ad. 7.
Ibid. Ad. I. in Ep. Adriani.
Conc. Later. sub Leone X. Sess. 10.

by the Master of the Palace; in other places, by the Bishop, or some other person deputed by him to the same purpose; and by the Inquisitor, under this penalty; That all Book-sellers offending herein, should forfeit their Books, which should be presently burnt in publick; and should pay a hundred Ducats, when it should be demanded, towards the Fabrick of S. Peter; (a kind of punishment, this, which we find no examples of in all the Canons of the Ancient Church,) and should also be suspended from exercising his Function, for the space of a whole year. This is a General Sentence, and which comprehendeth as well the Works of the Fathers, as of any others; as appeareth plainly by this, that the

Ibid. Responderunt omnes placere, excepto R. P. D. Alexio, Episcopo Malfitano, qui dixit, *Placere de novis operibus, non autem de Antiquis.*

† *Concil. Tri-d. Sess. 3. Decreto de Edit. & usu Sacror. lib.*

* *Idem Sess. 18. Quo facilius ipsa possit varias, & peregrinas doctrinas, tanquam Zizania, a Christianæ Veritatis tritico separare.*

† *Concil. Tri-dent. Sess. 25. decreto de Indice lib.*

Bishop of Malfi, having given in his opinion, saying, that he concurred with them, in relation to New Authors, but not to the Old; all the rest of the Fathers voted simply for all; neither was there any Limitation at all added to this Decree of the Council. This very Decree hath been since strongly confirmed by the † Council of Trent, which appointed also certain persons to take a Review of the Books, and Censures, and to make a Report of them to the Company, * *To the end that there might be a separation made, betwixt the good Grain of Christian Verity, and the Darnel of strange Do-*

ctrines: That is in plain terms, that they might blot out of all manner of Books, whatsoever relished not well with the gust of the Church of Rome. But these Fathers, having not the leisure themselves to look to this Pious Work, appointed certain † Commissaries, who should give an account of this matter to the Pope: whence afterward it came to pass, that Pope Pius IV. first, and afterward Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. published certain Rules; and *Indexes*; of such Authors and Books, as they thought fit should be either quite abolished, or purged only; and have given such strict order, for the printing of Books, as that in those Countries where

where this order is observed, there is little danger that ever any thing should be published, that is either contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, or which maketh any thing for their Adversaries. All these Instructions, which are too long to be inserted here, may be seen at the end of the Council of *Trent*, where they are usually set down at large. And in order to these Rules, they have since put forth their *Indices Expurgatorii*, (as they call them;) namely, that of the *Low Countries*, and of *Spain*, and other places; where these Gallants come with their Razor in their hand, and sit in judgment upon all manner of Books, rasing out, and altering, as they please, Periods, Chapters, and whole Treatises also often times, and that too in the Works of those Men, who for the most part were born, and bred up, and dyed also in the Communion of their own Church. If the Church for eight or nine hundred years since, had so sharp Razors as these men now have; it is then a vain thing for us, to search any higher, what the judgment of the Primitive Christians was, touching any particular Point: for, whatsoever it was, it could not have escaped the hands of such Masters. And if the Ancient Church had not heretofore any such Institution as this; why then do we, who pretend to be such Observers of Antiquity, practise these Novelties? I know very well, that these men make profession of reforming only the Writings of the Moderns: but who sees not, that this is but a Cloak which they throw over themselves; lest they should be accused as guilty of the same cruelty that *Jupiter* is among the Poets, for having behaved himself so insolently against his own Father? Those Pieces which they raze so exactly in the Books of the Moderns, are the cause of the greater mischief to themselves, when they are found in the Writings of the Ancients, as sometimes they are. For what a senseless thing is it, to leave them in, where they hurt most; and to raze them out, where they do little hurt? The Inquisition at *Madrid* puts out * these words in the

* *Ind. Expurgat. Sandoval. in Athanas. Ind. 1.*

† Athanas. Orat. contra
Arian. ἡ κοινὴ θεῶν μὴ
τὰ τὸ προσκυνοῦν.

* Id. in Frag. & Post.
ἔτι καὶ ἕτερά βιβλία τῶ-
ν ἑσθλῶν, ἡ κανονίζο-
μενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα
δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀ-
ναγνώσκουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ
περὶ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ βυλο-
γράφοις κατηχούμενοις τὸν
ἀποστολικὸν λόγον.

*Index of Athanasius, Adorari solius Dei est: that is, † God alone is to be worshipped: and yet notwithstanding these words are still expressly found in the Text of Athanasius. The same Father saith, * That there were some other Books, (besides those which he had before set down,) which, in truth, were not of the Canon; and which the Fathers had ordained, should be read to those, who were newly come into the Christian Communion, and desired to be instructed in the word of Piety: reckoning in this number, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Esther,*

Tobit, and some other. Nevertheless these very Censures put out, in the † Index of Athanasius his Works, those words which affirm, that the said Books are not at all Canonical. In the Index of St. Augustine they put out these w. rds, Christ hath given the sign of his Body: which yet are evidently to be seen in the Text of this Father, in his Book against Adimantus, Chap. 12. They put out in like manner, these words: Augustine accounted the Eucharist necessary to be administred to Infants: which opinion of S. Augustine is very frequently found expressed, either in these very words, or the like, throughout his Works, as we shall see hereafter. They likewise put out

Infr. l. 1. c. 8:

Ind. Exp. San-

dov. in August.

August. contr.

Maxim. lib.

Nonne si tem-

plum alicui

Sancto Angelo

excellentiſsi-

mo de lignis &

lapidibus face-

remus, ana-

themmatizemur

& veritate

Christi, & ab

Ecclesia Dei,

&c.

these words; We ought not to build Temples to Angels: and yet the very Text of S. Augustine saith, If we should erect a Temple of Wood, or of Stone, to any of the holy Angels, should we not be Anathematized? And this is the practice of the Censors, both in the Low Countries, and in Spain, in many other particulars, which we shall not here set down. Now if thou cuttest off such Sentences as these, out of the Indexes of these Holy Fathers; why dost thou not as well raze them out of the Text also? Or if thou leavest them in the one, why dost thou blot them out in the other? What can the meaning be of so strange a way of proceeding in so Wise Men? But yet, who sees not the reason of it? For, these Sentences, which these Men

thus

has boldly and rudely correct, are as displeasing to them in the Ancients, as in the Moderns; and where they may safely do it, they expunge them, as well out of the one, as out of the other. But this they dare not do openly, for fear of giving too much scandal to the World, which they are unwilling to do: because if they should deal too uncivilly, and make so bold with Antiquity, they would quite take off that respect, which all people bear toward it; which being a matter which very nearly concerns themselves, it is a special point of wisdom in them, carefully to keep up the Reputation of it. But in lashing the poor Moderns, who have made *Indexes* to all the Works of the Fathers, they save their Credit, and do their business too; ruining the opinions which they hate, by chastising the one; and yet withal preserving the venerable Esteem of Antiquity, which they cannot subsist without, by sparing the other. And yet I cannot see, why *Bertram* a Priest, who lived in the time of the Emperour *Charles the Bald*, which is about some seven hundred and fifty years since, should be reckoned among the Moderns: and yet his Book, *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, is absolutely, and without any limitation, forbidden to be read, in the *Index* of the Council of *Trent*, in the Letter B. among the Authors of the second *Classis*, as they call them. But yet the *Censors* of the *Low Countries* have dealt with him more gently, shall I say, or rather more cruelly; not taking his life away quite, only maiming him in the several parts of his Body, and leaving him in the like sad condition with *Deiphobus* in the Poet:

— *Lacerum crudeliter ora,*

Ora, manusque ambas, populataq; tempora, raptis
Auribus, & truncas inboneſto vulnere naves.

For they have cut you off, with one single dash of their Pen, two long Passages, consisting each of them of twenty eight, or thirty Lines a piece, and which are large enough

to make up a very considerable part of a small Treatise ; such as his is. And that the Reader may the better judge of the business, I shall here set down one of these Passages

† *Bertram. Presbyt. lib. De Corp. & Sang. Dom.* Considerandum quoque, quod in pane illo non solum corpus Christi, verum etiam corpus in eum credentis populi figuretur : unde multis frumenti granis conficitur, quia corpus populi credentis multis per verbum Christi fidelibus augmentatur, (al. coaugmentatur) Qua de re sicut mysterium panis ille Christi corpus accipitur ; sic etiam in mysterio membra populi credentis in Christum inrimantur. Et sicut non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter panis ille credentium corpus dicitur : sic quoque Christi corpus non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter necesse est intelligatur. Sic & in vino, qui sanguis Christi dicitur : aqua misceri iubetur, nec unum sine altero permittitur offerri, quia nec populus sine Christo, nec Christus sine populo, sicut nec caput sine corpore, vel corpus sine capite valere existere. Igitur si vinum illud, sanctificatum per ministrorum officium, in Christi sanguinem corporaliter convertitur, aqua quoque, quæ pariter admixta est, in sanguinem populi credentis necesse est corporaliter convertatur. Ubi namque una sanctificatio est, una consequenter operatio ; & ubi par ratio, par quoque consequitur mysterium. At videmus in aqua secundum corpus nihil esse conversum, consequenter ergo & in vino nihil corporaliter ostensum. Accipitur spiritualiter, quicquid

entire as it is. † *We ought further to consider* (saith *Bertram*, speaking of the Holy Eucharist,) *that in this Bread is represented not only the Body of Christ, but the Body of the People also, that believe in him. And hence it is that it is made up of many several grains of wheat, because that the whole Body of believing People is united together, and made into one, by the word of Christ. And therefore as it is by a Mystery, that we receive this Bread, for the Body of Christ: in like manner it is by a Mystery also, that the Members of the People believing in Christ, are here figured out unto us. And as this Bread is called the Body of Believers, not corporally, but spiritually; so is the Body of Christ also necessarily to be understood to be represented here, not corporally, but spiritually. In like manner as it is in the Wine, which is called the Blood of Christ; and with which it is ordained, that water be mixed: it being forbidden to offer the one without the other: because that as the Head cannot subsist without the Body, nor the Body without the Head; in like manner neither can the People be without Christ, nor Christ without the People: so that in this Sacrament, the Water representeth the Image of the People. If then the Wine, after it is consecrated by the Office of Ministers, be corporally changed into the Blood of Christ, of necessity then must the Water also be changed corporally into the Body of the Believing people: because that*
where

where there is but one only, and the same Sanctification, there can be but one and the same Operation: and where the Reason is equal, the Mystery also that follows it is equal. But now as for the Water, we see that there is no such corporal change wrought in it: it therefore follows, that neither in the Wine is there any corporal Transmutation. Whatsoever then of the Body of the People is signified unto us, by the Water, is taken spiritually: it followeth therefore necessarily, that we must, in like manner take spiritually, whatsoever the Wine representeth unto us, of the Blood of Christ. Again, those things, which differ among themselves, are not the same: Now the Body of Christ which died, and was raised up to life again, now dieth no more, being become immortal, and Death having no more power over it, it is eternal, and free from further suffering. But this, which is Consecrated in the Church, is Temporal, not Eternal; corruptible, not free from corruption; in its journey, and not in its native country. These two things therefore are different one from the other, and consequently cannot be one and the same thing. And if they be not one and the same thing, how can any man say, that this is the Real Body and Real Blood of Christ? For if it be the Body of Christ; and if it may be truly said, that this Body of Christ is really and truly the Body of Christ: the Real Body of Christ being Incorruptible and Impassible, and therefore Eternal; consequently this Body of Christ, which is consecrated in the Church, must of necessity also be both Incorruptible and Eternal. But it cannot be denied, but that it doth corrupt; seeing it is cut into small pieces, and distributed (to the Communicants,) who bruise it very small with their teeth,

in aqua de populi corpore significatur; accipitur ergo necesse est spiritualiter quicquid in vino de Christi sanguine intimatur. Item, quæ à se differunt, idem non sunt: Corpus Christi, quod mortuum est, & resurrexit, & immortale factum jam non moritur, & mors illi ultra non dominabitur, æternum est, jam non passibile. Hoc autem, quod in Ecclesia celebratur, temporale est, non æternum; corruptibile est, non incorruptibile, in via est, non in patria. Differunt igitur à se, quapropter non sunt idem. Quod si non sunt idem, quomodo verum Corpus Christi dicitur, & verus sanguis? Si enim Corpus Christi est, & hoc dicitur verè quia Corpus Christi in veritate Corpus Christi est, & si in veritate Corpus Christi, incorruptibile est, & impassibile, ac per hoc æternum. Hoc igitur Corpus Christi quod agitur in Ecclesia necesse est ut incorruptibile sit, & æternum. Sed negari non potest corrumpi, quod per partes comminatum dispergitur ad sumendum, & dentibus commolitur in corpus trajicitur.

Index Expurg. Belg. in Bertram. Non male aut incon-
sulte omittantur igitur om-
nia hæc à fine paginæ: Con-
sidera idum quoque quod in
pene illo, &c. Usq; ad illud
multo post, Sed aliud est
quod exterius geritur, &c. in
ead. pag. Et seq. pag. om-
nia illa sequentia. Item quæ
idem sunt, unâ definitione
comprehenduntur, &c. Usque
ad illud, Hoc namque quod
agitur in viâ, Spiritualiter,
&c. Seq. pag.

seeth, and so take it down into their Body.
 Thus Bertram. His other passage, which
 is longer yet than this, is of the same Na-
 ture; but I shall not here set it down, to
 avoid prolixity. Now these Gentlemen
 finding, that the language of both these pas-
 sages did very ill accord with the business of
 Transubstantiation, they thought it the best
 way to cut them clear out: for fear, lest com-
 ming to the Peoples knowledge, they might
 imagine, that there had been Sacramentari-
 ans in the Church; ever since the time of
 Charles the Bald.

Thou then whoever thou art, that thinkest thy self
 bound to search in the Writings of the Fathers for the
 Doctrine of thy Salvation, learn from this Artifice of
 theirs, and those many other Cheats which we, to their
 great grief, are now searching into; what an extreme de-
 sire they have to keep from us the Opinion, and sense of
 the Ancients in all those Particulars, where they never so
 little contradi& their own Doctrine: and remembring
 withal, how they have had, and still have every day, such
 opportunities of doing what they please in this kind, thou
 canst not doubt, but that they have struck deep enough,
 where there was cause: which blows of theirs, together
 with the Alterations and Changes, that Time, the Malice
 of Hereticks, the innocent and pious Fraud of the Primi-
 tive Church, and the Passion of the later Christians have
 long since produced, have rendred the Writings, and Ve-
 nerable Monuments of Antiquity, so imbroiled and per-
 plexed; that it will be a very hard matter for any man to
 make any clear and perfect discovery of those things,
 which so many several Artills have endeavoured to con-
 ceal from Us.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Reason V. That the Writings of the Fathers are hard to be understood, by reason of the Languages and Idioms they wrote in, the Manner of their Writing, which is for the most part incumbred with Figures, and Rhetorical Flourishes, and nice Logical Subtilties, and the like; and also by reason of the Terms, which they for the most part used in a far different sense from what they now bear.

IF any Man, either by the light of his own proper Wit, or by the assistance and direction of some able and faithful hand, shall at length be able thereby, as by the help of the *Clew* the Poets speak of, to winde himself happily out of these two Labyrinths, and to find any Pieces of the Ancients, that are not onely Legitimate, but also entire, and uncorrupt; certainly that Man hath very good reason to rejoyce at his own good fortune, and to give God hearty thanks for it. For I must needs confess, that it is no very small satisfaction to a Man, to have the opportunity of conversing with those Illustrious Persons of the Ages past, and to learn of them what their Opinions were, and to compare our own with theirs;

— *Verasque audire, & reddere voces.*

But yet this I dare confidently pronounce, That if he would know out of them what their Sense and Opinion hath truly been, touching the Differences now in agitation, he will find, that he is now but at the very beginning and entrance of his Business; and that there remain behind many more Difficulties to be overcome in his passage, than he hath yet grappled with. One of the two disagreeing Parties, refusing the Scriptures for the Judge of Controversies, by reason of its Obscurity, lays this

*Hier. ep. 139.
ad Cypr. Ple-
rumque nimi-
um disertis
accidere so-
let ut major
sit intelligen-
tiæ difficultas
in eorum ex-
planationibus,
quàm in his
quæ explana-
re conantur.*

Bellarmino.

for a Ground (and indeed rationally enough) that no ob-
scure Books are proper for the decision of Controversies.
Now I do not know, why a Man may not, with as much
reason, say of the most of the Writings of the Fathers, as
S. Hierome did of some certain Expositors of some parts
of the Scriptures, *That it was more trouble to understand
Them well, than those very things which they took upon them
to expound:* that is to say, That it is much harder rightly
to understand Them, than the Scriptures themselves. For,
that a Man may be able fully to understand them, it is in
the first place necessary, that he have perfect and exact
skill in those Languages wherein they wrote; that is to
say, in the *Greek*, and *Latin*, which are the Tongues that
most of them wrote in. For, as for those of the Fathers
who have written either in *Syriack*, or *Arabick*, or *Ethi-
opian*, or the like Vulgar Tongues of their own; whose
Writings perhaps would be as useful to us, in the disco-
very of the Opinions of the Ancient Church, as any others;
we have not, that I know of, any of these Monuments
now publickly to be seen abroad, but only some Transla-
tions of them, in *Greek*, or in *Latin*: as namely, the Works
of S. *Ephraim* (if at least those Books which go abroad
under his Name, be truly his:) and the *Comment. de Pa-
radiso* of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, translated into *Latin* by *Ma-
sius*; and perhaps some few other the like. I know very
well, that for the most part Men trust to the Translations
of the Fathers, whether they be in *Latin*, or in the Vul-
gar Languages; and that the World is now come to that
pass, that People will not stick to take upon them to
judge of the *Greek* Fathers, without having (at least, that
can be perceived out of their Writings) any competent
knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue: which cannot in my
judgment, be accounted any thing less than a point of
the highest boldness and unadvisedness that can be. The
thing is clear enough of it self, that to be able to reach the
Conceptions and Sense of a Man, especially in Matters of
Importance, it is most necessary that we understand the
Language

Language he delivers himself in, his Terms, and the manner of their coherence; there being in every particular Language a certain peculiar Force, and Power of Significancy, which can very hardly be so preserved in a Translation, but that it will lose in the passage something of its natural Lustre and Vigour, how knowing, able, and faithful soever the Interpreter be. But this, which is very useful indeed in all other cases, is most necessary in this particular Business we have now in hand; by reason of the little care and fidelity that we find in the Translations of the greatest part of the Interpreters of the Fathers, whether Ancient, or Modern. We have before seen how *Ruffinus*, and even *S. Hierome* himself too, have laid about them, in this particular; and, long after them, *Anastasius* also, in his Translation of the VII Council; who notwithstanding, in his Preface to the VIII, gives us this for a most Infalible Rule; namely, That whatsoever is found in his Translation, is True, and Legitimate; and on the contrary, whatsoever the *Greeks* have said, either more or less, is supposititious and forged. If all the other Interpreters of the Councils and Fathers, had been Men of the same Temper that *Anastasius* here would have us believe him to have been of, we might then indeed very well lay by the *Greek* Text, and content our selves with such dull *Latin* as he hath furnished us with in his Translation: But the mischief of it is, that all the World doth not believe this Testimony which he hath given of himself; and that, although he hath such a special gift in valuing his own Translation above the Original, yet this will hardly ever be allowed to the rest of Translators, especially the Modern; who having been Men that have been for the most part carried away with their affection to their own Party, he must needs be a very weak Man, that should trust to them in this case, and rely upon what they say: Whosoever hath yet a mind to be further satisfied how far these Mens Translations are to be trusted, let him but take the pains to compare the *Greek* Preface

to Origen's Books against *Celsus*, with the Latin Translation of *Christophorus Persona*; and, if he please, he may do well to run over some part of the Books themselves: and if he hath a mind to sacrifice himself to the Laughter of the *Protestants*, let him but produce them, upon the honest word of this trusty Trucheman, this Passage out of the Fifth Book, for the Invocation of Angels; *We ought*

Origen, *Christoph. Persona*, lib. 5. contr. *Celsum* Vota namque & preces omnes, & gratiarum insuper actiones ad Deum, sunt per Angelum transmittenda. qui per Pontificem, & vivens verbum, & Deum, Angelis perfectus est ceteris.

Orig. contr. *Cels.* l. 5. p. 239. Πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαν προσευχὴν, καὶ τιτυξιν καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἀναπεμψέον τῷ Θεῷ πᾶσι θεῶν, διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμφύχου λόγου, καὶ Θεοῦ.

to send up our Vows, and all our Prayers, and Thankgivings to God, by the Angel, who hath been set over the rest, by him who is the Bishop, the Living Word, and God: In which words he seems to intimate, That *Jesus Christ* hath appointed some one of the Angels to hear our Prayers; and, that by him we ought to present them to God. Whereas *Origen* says the clean contrary; namely, *That we ought to send up to God, who is above all things, every of our Demands, Prayers, and Requests, by the great High-Priest, the Living Word, and God, who is above all the Angels.* You have a sufficient discovery also of the Affections of Translators, who many times make their Authors speak more than they meant, in *Jo. Christopherson's* Transla-

tion of the Ecclesiastical Historians; as likewise in most of the Translators of these later Times, excepting only some very few of the more moderate sort. But we shall not need to insist any longer on this Particular, which hath been sufficiently proved already, by the several Parties of both Sides, discovering the falseness of their Adversaries Translations; as every Man must needs know, that is any whit conversant in these kind of Writings; where you shall meet with nothing more frequent, than these mutual Reprehensions of each other. Now in the midst of such distraction, and contrariety of Judgments, how can a Man possibly assure himself, that he hath the true sense and meaning of the Fathers, unless he hear them speak in their own Language, and have it from their own mouth?

And of *Jo. Christopherson's* Translations of the Ecclesiastical Historians. I

I shall here lay down then for a most sure Ground, and undeniable Maxime, That to be able rightly to apprehend the Judgment and Sense of the Fathers, it is necessary that we first understand the Language they write in; and that too, not slightly, and superficially; but exactly, and fully: there being in all Languages certain peculiar Terms, and Idioms, familiarly used by the Learned, which no Man shall ever be able to understand thoroughly and clearly, that hath but a superficial knowledge of the said Languages, and hath not dived even to the depth and very bottom of them. If you would see how necessary the knowledge of an Authors Language is, and how prejudicial the want of it; do but turn to that Passage of *Theodore*, where speaking of the Eucharist, he saith thus; *Theod. Dial. 2.*
 'Οὐδὲ γὰρ μὲν τὰ ἁγιασμὲν τὰ μυσικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οὐκίας ἐξίσταται οὕτως· μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς οὐκίας, καὶ τὸ χήμα-
 τος καὶ τὸ ἴδιον. The Protestants, and all their Advertaries (before Cardinal Perron) interpret this place thus; *The Mystical Symbols, after Consecration, do not leave their proper Nature: for they continue in their first Substance, Figure, and Form.* Now what can be said more expressly against Transubstantiation? But yet the above-named Cardinal, having it seems consulted those old Friends of his among the *Grammarians*, who had heretofore taught him that *μυαίνω* signified to *smoak* or *evaporate*, will Perron Repl p.
 needs persuade us, that this Passage is to be interpreted 709. Answ. to
 otherwise; namely, That the Signs in the Eucharist con- the 2 Instit.
 tinue in the figure and form of their first Substance: which where he takes
 would be tacitely and indirectly to allow Transubstan- this word to
 tiation. Now it is true, that this Exposition is con- signify, To
 trary not onely to the Design and purpose of the Au-sume; where-
 thor, but to the usual way of speaking also among the as the true sig-
 Greeks. But, in case you had not exact skill in the nification is,
 language, how should you be able to judge of this Interpre- To pollute, or
 tation? especially seeing it put upon you with so much defile.
 confidence, and unparallel'd boldness, according to the
 ordinary custom of this Doctor, who never affirms or re-
 commends

commends any thing to us more confidently, than when it is most doubtful and uncertain. It is out of the same rare and unheard of *Grammar*, that the said Cardinal hath elsewhere taken upon him to give us that notable Correction of his, of the Inscription of an Epistle written by the Emperour *Constantine*, to *Miltiades* Bishop

Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. Hist. Eccl.
Κωνσταντίνῳ Σίλκας
Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥω-
μαίων, ἡ Μαρκῶ. Per-
 ron in his Repl. saith, We
 ought to read it thus; *Κων-*
σταντίνῳ Σίλκας & *Μιλ-*
τιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαί-
ων καὶ ἐν μαρκῶν. But it
 seems more probable that
 we should read, ἡ *Μαρκ-*
κλῆς, and to Merocles,
 who was at that time Bi-
 shop of Millane, as is ob-
 served by Opatrus, lib. 1.
 pag. 334.

of Rome, set down in the Tenth Book of *Euse-
 bius* his Ecclesiastical History, reading it thus:
Constantinus Augustus, to *Miltiades* Bishop of
 the Romans (witheth long time) or long oppor-
 tunity :) whereas all Copies, both Manuscript,
 and Printed, have it, *Constantinus Augustus*,
 to *Miltiades* Bishop of the Romans, and to
 Mark: fearing, I suppose, lest some might ac-
 cuse the Emperour of not understanding him-
 self aright, in making this Mark here Compa-
 nion to the Pope, who in all things ought to
 march without a Copesmate. I should never
 have done, if I should but go about to set down
 all those other Passages, in which he hath used

the same Arts, in wresting the words of the Ancients to a
 wrong sense, which otherwise would seem to make for
 the Protestants: whence it may plainly appear, how ne-
 cessary the knowledge of the Languages is, for the right
 understanding of the Sense of the Fathers. So that in my
 judgment, the Result of all this will clearly be, that as
 we have before said, it is a difficult thing to come to the
 right understanding of them. For, who knows not what
 pains it will cost a Man to attain to a perfect knowledge
 of these two Tongues? what Parts are necessarily requi-
 red in this case? A happy Memory, a lively Conceit,
 good bringing up, continual pains-taking, much and di-
 ligent Reading, and the like; all which things do very
 rarely meet in any one Person. But yet the truth of this
 Assertion of ours is clearly proved also, by the continual
 Debates and Disputes of those, who though they have
 referred the Judgment of their Differences to the Deci-
 sion

sion of the Fathers, do yet notwithstanding still implead each other at their Bar, and cannot possibly be brought to any Agreement at all. Many of the Writers of the Church of Rome object against the Protestants, as an Argument of the obscurity of the Scriptures, the Controversies that are betwixt themselves and the Lutherans, against the Calvinists touching the Eucharist; and of the Calvinists against the Lutherans, and the Arminians, in the Point of Predestination. If this Argument of theirs be of any force at all, who sees not that it clearly proves that which we maintain in this particular? For, the Greeks and the Latins, who both of them make profession of submitting themselves to the Authority of the Fathers, and to plead all their Causes before them, have not as yet been able to come to any Agreement. Do but observe the Passages betwixt these two, at the Council of Florence, where the strongest and ablest Champions on both Sides were brought into the Lists; how they wrangled out whole Sessions, about the Exposition of a certain short Passage in the Council at Ephesus; and some other the like out of Epiphanius †, S. Basil *, and others: and how, after all their Disputes, how clearly and powerfully soever each Party made their vaunts the Business was carried on their Side, they have yet left us the Sense of the Fathers much more dark and obscure than it was before; their Contestations having but rendred the Business much more perplexed; each Side having indeed very much appearance of Reason, in what they urge against their Adversaries; but very little solidity in what they have said severally for themselves. Certainly the Latins, who are thought to have had the better Cause of the two, and who, upon a certain Passage of S. Basil, alledged by themselves, triumphed as if they had got the day, baffling and affronting the Greeks in a very disdainful manner, and giving them very harsh Language also, used notwithstanding such an odd kind of Logick to persuade the receiving of the Exposition which they gave,

*Conc. Flor. Sess. 5. de Decreto quodam Concil. Eph. Act. 6. Sess. 11, & 12. † Concil. Flor. Sess. 18, 20, & 21. * Concil. Flor. Sess. 21.*

Ibid. loc. Basil. 'Ου λαμβάνομεν τινὰ πνεύματος, ὡς καὶ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τὸ πνεύματι.

*Basil. in Orat.
in Sacr. Baptisf.
p. 511. Tom. 1.
Edit. Paris a-
pud Michael,
Sonnium anno
1618.*

*Tertul. contr.
Marc. l. 4. c. 40.
Acceptum pa-
nem, & disci-
butum disci-
pulis, corpus
suum illum se-
cit, Hoc est
corpus meum,
dicendo, id
est, Figura
Corporis mei.
Aug. contr. Adi-
mant. c. 12 Non
enim Dominus
dubitavit di-
cere, Hoc est
corpus meum,
cum signum
daret corporis
sui.*

as that even at this day, in the last Edition of *S. Basil's* Works, Printed at *Paris*, and Revised by *Fronto Ducent*, the *Latin* Translation follows, in this Particular, not their Exposition, but that of the *Greek* Schismatics. And some of the *Protestants* having also had the same success in some particular Points controverted betwixt themselves, it lies open to every Mans observation, how much obscurity there is found in the Passages cited by both Sides. If *Tertullian* was of the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, in the Point concerning the Eucharist, what could he have uttered more dark and obscure, than this Passage is of his, in his Fourth Book against *Marcion*: *Christ having taken Bread, and distributed it to his Disciples, made it his Body, in saying, This is my Body; that is, to say, The Figure of my Body?* If *S. Augustine* held *Transubstantiation*, what can the meaning be of these words of his; *The Lord stuck not to say, This is my Body, when he delivered only the Sign of his Body?* If these Passages, and an infinite number of the like, do really and truly mean that which Cardinal *Perron* pretends they do, then was there never any thing of obscurity either in the Riddles of the *Theban Sphinx*, or in the Oracles of the *Sibyls*. If you look on the other side, you shall meet with some other Passages in the Fathers, which seem to speak point-blank against the *Protestants*: as for example; where they say expressly, *That the Bread changeth its nature; and, That, by the Almighty Power of God, it becomes the Flesh of the Word*: and the like. And so in all the Controversies betwixt them, they produce such Passages as these, both on the one side, and on the other: some whereof seem to be irreconcilable to the Sense of the Church of *Rome*, and some other, to the Sense of their Adversaries. If Cardinal *Perron*, and those other sublime Wits of both Parties, can have the confidence to affirm, that they find no difficulty at all in these Particulars, we must needs think, that either they speak this but out of a Bravado, setting a good face upon a bad matter; or else, that both the

Wits,

Wits; and Eye-sight of all the rest of the World are marvelous dull, and feeble, in finding nothing but Darknes there, where these Men see nothing but Light. But yet for all this, if there be not obscurity in these Writings of the Fathers, and that very much too; how comes it to pass, that even these very Men find themselves ever and anon so tormented to find out the meaning of them? How comes it to pass, that they are fain to use so many words, and make tryal of so many tricks, and devices for the clearing of them? Whence proceeds it, that so often, for fear of not being able to satisfie their Readers, they are forced to cry down either the Authors, or the Pieces, out of which their Adversaries produce their Testimonies? What strange Sentences, and Passages of Authors are those, that require more time, and trouble in the clearing Them, than in deciding the Controversie it self; and which multiply Differences, rather than determine them; oftentimes serving as a Covert, and retreating-place to both Parties? The sense, and meaning of these words is debated; *This is my Body*. For the explaining of them, there is brought this Passage, out of *Tertullian*; and that other, out of *S. Augustine*. Now I would have any Man speak in his conscience, what he thinks; whether or not these words are not as clear, or clearer, than those Passages which they alledge out of these Fathers, as they are explained by the different Parties. I desire, Reader, no other judge than thy self, whosoever thou art; only provided, that thou wilt but vouchsafe to read, and examine that which is now said upon these places, and withal consider the strange Turnings and Windings-about, that they make us take, to bring us to the right sense and meaning of them. In a word, if the most able Men that are, did not find themselves extreamly puzzled, and perplexed, in distinguishing the Legitimate Writings of the Fathers from the Spurious; it is not likely, that the *Censors* of the *Low-Countries*, who are all choice, pickt Men, should be forced to shew us so ill

Ind. Exp. Belg. in Betr. Plurimos in Catholicis veteribus errores excitato comento persapè negamus, & commodum iis sensum assignamus, dum opponuntur. In disputationibus, aut in conflictibus cum adversariis.

an Example of finding a way to help our selves, when the Authority of the Ancients is strongly pressed against us By our Adversaries as they do, in excluding the expressions of the Fathers sometimes, by some handsomely contrived invention, and in putting some convenient probable sense upon them. That which hath been said, I am confident is sufficient to convince any reasonable Man of the Truth of this Assertion of ours; namely, that it is a very hard matter to understand the sense and opinions of the Fathers by their Books. But, that we may leave no doubt behind us, let us briefly consider some few of the principal Causes of this Difficulty. Certainly the Fathers, having been Wise Men, all of them both spoke, and wrote, to be understood; inasmuch that, having both the will, and the ability to do it, it seemeth very strange, that they should not be able to attain to the end they aimed at. But we must here call to mind, what we have said before; namely, that these Controversies of ours being not in their time yet sprung up; they had no occasion, neither was it any of their design, either to speak, or write any thing of them. For these Sages stirred up as few doubts, in matters of Religion, as they could. Besides that their times furnished them with sufficient matter of Disputes, in Points which were then in agitation; without so much as thinking of Ours, now on foot. And they have very clearly delivered their sense, in all those Controversies, which they have handled. Even *Tertullian* himself, who is the most obscure amongst them all, hath notwithstanding delivered himself so clearly, in the debates betwixt him and *Marcion*, and others, that there is no place left for a Man to doubt, what his opinions were, in the points debated of. I am therefore fully perswaded, that if they had lived in these times, or that the present Controversies had been agitated in their times, they would have delivered their judgment upon them very plainly, and expressly. But seeing they have not touched upon them, but only by the By; and as they came accidentally

into

into their way, rather than upon any set purpose; we are not to think it strange, if we find them not to have spoken out, and given their sense clearly, as to these Debates of ours. For as any Man may easily observe in the ordinary course of things, those things that happen without design, are never clear, and full, but ambiguous, and doubtful; and oftentimes also contrary perhaps, either to the sense, or the affection of the person from whom they proceeded. Thus before the springing up of that pernicious doctrine of *Arius*, who so much troubled the Ancient Church; there was very little said, of the Eternity of the Divine Nature of *Jesus Christ*: or if the Fathers said any thing at all of it, it was only in passage, and by the By, and not by design: and hence it is also, that what they have delivered in this particular, is as obscure, and hard to be rightly understood, as those other Passages of theirs, that relate to our present Controversies. Do but explain the meaning a little, if you can, of this passage of *Justin Martyr*, in his Treatise against *Tryphon*; where he saith, that, *† The God which appeared to Moses, and to the Patriarchs, was the Son, and not the Father*: for as much as the Father is not capable of Local Motion, neither can properly be said to ascend, or descend: and that ** No Man ever saw the Father but only heard his Son, and his Angel; who is also God, by the will of the Father*. Which words of his, cannot be very well explained, without allowing a difference of Nature, in the Father and the Son; which were to establish *Arianism*. Do but observe, what *Tertullian* also says, in this particular, namely, *† That the Father, bringing him forth out of himself, made his Son; and, * That the Father is the Whole Substance, and the Son, a Portion, and a Derivation of that Whole*: and many other the like Passages, which you meet with here and there in that excellent Piece of his, written against

† Just. contr. Tryph. p. 183.

Et 356. Edit. Paris. 1615.

** Ibid. p. 357. ἡτε οὐ*

Ἀβραάμ, ἡτε Ἰσαάκ,

ἡτε Ἰακώβ, ἡτε ἀλλ᾽

ἀνθρώπων εἶδε τὸν πα-

τέρα, καὶ ἀκούοντες αὐ-

τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ αὐτὸς

τὸ Χριστὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνους, καὶ

καὶ βουλὴν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ

ἐκείνου οὐκ ἔβλεπον, καὶ τὸ

ἀκούοντες, καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν

αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ

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Præcess, which will hardly be reconciled to any good construction. In like manner doth *Dionysius Alexandri-*

† *Dion. Alex.* nus call the Son, † *The Work, or Workmanship of the Father*: apud *Athanas.* which are the very Terms that were so much quarrelled ep. de fide *Dion. Alex.* at in *Arius*. And the LXXX. Fathers, who condemned *Basil ep. 51. T. 2* *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, said expressly, p. 802. *πολὺν* That the Son is not of the same essence with the Father: that *μὴ, & γένν-* is to say, they in exprels Terms denied the *ἐκδοκίαν, or* *τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ὡς* *Consubstantiality* of the Son; which was afterwards established in the Council of *Nice*. It were no very hard matter to make good this Observation, in reference to all *de Syn. Arim. & Seleu.* the other Disputes that have arisen in the Church, against *Vide & Hilar.* *Macedonius*, *Pelagius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and the *de Syn. Otho-* *Monothelites*; to wit, that the Fathers have spoken very obscurely of these matters, before the Controversies were started, as persons that spoke accidentally only thereof, and not of set purpose. It is now a good while since, that

† *Hier. Apol. 2. contr Ruff.* S. *Hierome* said, *That before that Arius, that* *Vel certe antequam in A-* *Impudent Devil*, appeared in the World, the *lexandria, quasi Dæmoni-* *Fathers had delivered many things Innocently,* *um meridiano Arius nas-* *and without taking so much heed to their words,* *ceretur, innocenter quæ-* *as they might have done; and indeed some things,* *dam, & minus cautè locu-* *that can hardly escape the Cavils of wrangling* *ti sunt, & quæ non possint* *spirits.* And this hath also been observed by *perversorum hominum* *some of the most learned among the Moderns;* *calumniam declinare.*

† *Perron. Repl. Obj. 4. c. 5.* as namely, Cardinal † *Perron*, and the Jesuit
* *Dion Petau. in Panar. E-* *Petavius*, a Man highly esteemed by those
piph. ad Her. 69. quæ est A- of his own Party; who writing upon *Epipha-*
rian. Quod idem plerisq; *nus*, and endeavouring to clear *Lucian* the
veterum Patrum, cum in *Martyr* from the suspicion of being an *Arrian*,
hoc negotio, (Trinitatis,) and a *Samosatenian*; saith, * *That in this Que-*
tum in aliis fidei Christianæ *stion touching the Trinity, as also in divers o-*
capitibus usu venit, ut *thers, it hath so fallen out; that most of the An-*
ante errorū atq; hærescon *cient Fathers, who wrote before the springing*
quibus ea sigillatim oppug- *up of those particular Heresies in the Church,*
nabantur originem nondu- *have in their Writings let fall here and there*
latis illustrata & patefacta *such things; as are not very consonant to the*
rei veritate, quædam scri- *Rule.*
ptis suis asperserint; quæ *com Orthodoxæ fidei re-*
gula minimè consentiant;

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nabantur originem nondu- *have in their Writings let fall here and there*
latis illustrata & patefacta *such things; as are not very consonant to the*
rei veritate, quædam scri- *Rule.*
ptis suis asperserint; quæ *com Orthodoxæ fidei re-*
gula minimè consentiant;

Rule of the Orthodox Faith. Since therefore they have done thus in other Points; what marvel is it if they have likewise done the same in these particular Controversies at this day debated amongst us? and that, having lived so long before that the greatest part of these Controversies were started, they have spoken to them so obscurely, doubtfully, and confusedly. For my part I think, it would have been the greater wonder of the two, if they had done otherwise; and shall account it as a very great signe of Forgery, in any Piece which is attributed to Antiquity, when ever I find it treating exprelly, and clearly of these Points, and as they are now adays discoursed of. Do but compare the expressions of the most Ancient Fathers, touching the Divinity, and Eternity, of the Son of God, with their expressions touching the Nature of the Eucharist; and certainly you will find, that the one are not more wide of the Truth at this day professed, touching this last Point; than the other were from the Doctrine long since declared in the Council of *Nice*. The Council of *Nice* exprelly, and positively declared, *That the Son is Consubstantial with the Father*: the Council of *Antioch* had before denied this. Whether the Fathers therefore affirm, or deny, that the Eucharist is really the Body of Christ, they will not however therein contradict thy opinion, whosoever thou art, whether Romanist, or Protestant, any more, than the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* seem to have contradicted those of the Council of *Nice*. We may add hereto, that as the *Arians* ought not in reason to have alledged, in justification of their opinion, any such Passages of the Ancient Fathers, as had innocently, in passage only, and in discoursing on other subjects, without any thought of this opinion of theirs, fallen from them; so neither to say truth, is there any reason, that either Thou, or I, should produce, as Definitive Sentences upon our present Controversies, which have been started but of late years, any such Passages of the Fathers as were written by them, in treating

of

Alban. ep. de as *Albanasius* hath done in some Passages of *Dionysius*
fid. Dionys. A- *Alexandrinus*, and of the Fathers of the Council of *Anti-*
lex. & ep. de *och*; in like manner ought we to use our utmost endea-
Syn. Arim. & *Seleuc. ubi su-*
pra.

of other matters, many Ages before the breaking forth
of our Differences, whereof they never had the least
thought; and concerning which they have consequently
delivered themselves very diversly and obscurely, and
sometimes also seemingly contradicting themselves. And
as we find, that some of the Faithful Christians, who li-
ved after these Primitive Fathers, have endeavoured to
reconcile their sayings to the Truth which they professed;
as *Albanasius* hath done in some Passages of *Dionysius*
Alexandrinus, and of the Fathers of the Council of *Anti-*
och; in like manner ought we to use our utmost endea-
vour to make a handsome interpretation of all such passa-
ges in the Writings of these Men, and the like, as seem to
clash with the true Orthodox Belief, touching the Eu-
charist, and the like other Points: and withal not account-
ing it any great wonder, if we sometimes chance to meet
with Passages, which seem to be utterly inexplicable. For
it may so fall out, that they may be really so; seeing it is
very possible, that in the Points touching the *Person*, and
the *Natures* of the Son of God, some such expressions
may have fallen from them; as is very well known to
those, who are versed in their Writings. Possibly also
we may meet with some Passages of theirs, which though
they may be explicable in themselves, may not withstand-
ing appear to us to be Indissoluble; by reason perhaps of
our wanting some one of those Circumstances, which are
necessarily requisite for the enlightning, and clearing the
same: as for example, when we are ignorant of the Scope
and drift of the Author, and of the Connexion and
Dependencies of his Discourse, and other the like parti-
culars, which are requisite for the penetrating into
the sense of all Sorts of Writers. For it is with Mens
words, as it is with Pieces of Picture: they must have
their proper Light, to shew themselves according to the
meaning and intention of the Author; and according to
the difference of the Lights we see them by, they also
have a different appearance. As for example, if any one
should

should not engage alone, and barely, without reference to the rest of the Discourse, and history of his Author, this short Passage of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, where he calls the Son of God, *the Workman*, or *Manufacture of the Father*; and adds certain other very strange Terms also touching this particular, (as we daily see, the Customs of Rome is in the business of our present Controversies, to produce the like Words, and little short Passages, severed from the main Body of the Discourse, whereof they are a part;) which of us, how able so ever he be, could possibly imagine any thing else; but that this is an absolute *Wish* expression, and such as cannot be interpreted to any other sense? And yet *Arbustius*, in the places before cited, makes it plainly appear that it is not so; and by the advantage of those through Lights which he had in the Subject there treated of by the Author, he demonstrates unto us, that this expression of *Dionysius*, how strange so ever it appear, hath notwithstanding a good, and allowable sense in that place. And that we may be able more fully to apprehend the truth of this our Assertion, we shall in the next place take into consideration some other causes of the obscurity of the Fathers: among which I shall rank in the first place, their having sometimes purposely, and upon Design, endeavour'd either wholly to conceal their Conceptions from us; or at least to lay them down, not naked, and open, but as it were with a Curtain (and that sometimes a very thick one too) drawn over them; to the end that none but those of the quickest, and most piercing eyes should be able to penetrate into them: some of their Meditations having been such, as they themselves accounted either less useful, or else perhaps such as it was not so safe to commit to weak, vulgar spirits. Whether this practice of theirs were rais'd upon good grounds, or not, I shall not here stand to examine: it is sufficient for me to shew, that it was usual with them; as may appear,

Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. Τα
 μὲν ἐκ δὲ πρῶτον ἡμεῖς
 ἐκείνων ὁρῶμεν, ὅτι
 βύβαιον ὡς γὰρ
 λέγειν ἐβουλόμην, ὅτι
 περὶ τούτων, ὅτι δὲ
 διδασκὰς δὲ ἕνα καὶ τὸν
 ἴσχυον ἡμεῖς, ἵνα
 ἑτέρως οὐκ αὖτις, καὶ
 πάλιν μάχωνται, ἵνα
 οὐδὲν οὐκ παρομινοῦμεν,
 διότι οὐκ ἐπιδοῦμεν, &c.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀντίθεσις καὶ
 ὑπερβολή, καὶ τοῖς μὲν παρὰ
 σαφῶς, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμιλοῦμεν.

Cassand. in Li-
 burg. c. 26.

Casaub. in Ba-
 son. exercit. 16.

among; the rest out of *Clement Alexandrinus*,
 about the beginning of his *Stromateis*, where
 giving an account of the Design of his Book,
 he saith that, He had passed over some things in
 silence; fearing to write that which he made
 some sample even to speak of; not that he envied
 his Readers any thing; but fearing rather lest
 they might happily, out of a misunderstanding of
 them, fall into error; and so he might seem to
 have put a Sword into the hand of a Child. He
 adds further, That he had handled somethings
 clearly, and some other obscurely; laying the one
 open to our view, but wrapping up the other in Riddles. But
 that which makes most to our present purpose, is, that
 they are known to have taken this course particularly in
 some certain of those Points which are now controver-
 ted amongst us; as namely, in that touching the *Sacra-*
ments of the Church. For as they celebrated their holy
 Mysteries in secret, and apart by themselves, not admit-
 ting either the Pagans, or the *Catechumens*, nor yet (as
 some assure us) any person whatsoever, save only the
 Communicants, to the sight of them; in like manner also
 in their Writings, especially in those that were to be read
 openly to the people in their publick Assemblies, they ne-
 ver spake but very obscurely, and darkly; as hath been
 observed, in Point of the Eucharist, by Cardinal Perron,
 and by Casaubon, Petavius, and others, in the Points of
Baptism, Confirmation, and other holy Ceremonies of the
 Christians. Do but observe, how wary *Theodoret*, *Epi-*
phanius, and other of the Ancient Writers are, in na-
 ming the matter of the Eucharist; describing it in general
 terms only, and such as they only could understand, who
 had been formerly partakers of that holy Sacrament. I shall
 not here take upon me to examine the end which they
 proposed to themselves in so doing; which seems to have
 been, to beget in the minds of the *Catechumens* a greater
 reverence, and esteem of the Sacraments, and withal a

more

more earnest and eager desire to be admitted to partake of them: fearing, lest haply the laying open, and discoursing plainly of the Matter and Manner of Celebration of the Sacraments, might something take off from one of these two Affections in them. Seeing therefore that not only in this, but in divers other Particulars also, they have purposely, and upon design, concealed their Sense and Opinions from us; we ought not to account it so strange a matter, if we many times find their Expressions to be obscure, and (which is a consequence of obscurity) if they sometimes also seem to clash, and contradict one another. And indeed it were more to be wondred at, if these Men, who were for the most part able, learned Men, having a purpose of writing obscurely on these Points, should yet have left us their Opinions clearly and plainly delivered in their Writings. But there is more in it yet than so; for sometimes also, even where they had no purpose of being so, they yet are very obscure; and sometimes again the little Conversation they have had with those Arts which are requisite for the polishing of Language, was the cause of their not expressing themselves so clearly: and sometimes perhaps their *Genius*, and natural Disposition might be the reason hereof; all their Study and Industry they could take, not being able to correct this natural defect in them. I believe we may very safely reckon *Epiphanius* in the first Rank of these kind of Writers; who was indeed a good and holy Man, but yet had been very little conversant in the Arts, either of Rhetorick, or Grammar; as appeareth sufficiently out of his Writings, where you shall often find him failing, not only in the clearness of his Expressions, and the course and fit contrivance of his Periods, but also even in the Order and Method, which is the true Light of all Discourse: which Defects must necessarily be the cause of much obscurity in very many Places; as indeed is much complained of by the Interpreters of this Father. Others perhaps there have been, who have endeavoured to po-

lish their Language by Arts, who yet have not been able to compass their desire, whether it were, because they began too late; or else perhaps through the dulness of their Wit, and want of Capacity; as we see, all Natures are not capable of receiving all Forms, what pains and industry soever they take, for the making such Impressions. In this number you may reckon that *Victorinus*, of whom

*Hier. ep. 84. ad Magn. Victori-
no Martyri in
libris suis licet
desit eruditio,
tamen non de-
est eruditio-
nis voluntas.*

** In Apol. 1. in
Ruff. & Apol.
2. & Apol. ad
Ruff.*

S. Hierome gives this so favourable Testimony, saying, That though indeed he wanted Learning, he wanted not a desire and good-will to Learning. Such another also was *Ruffinus*, whose Language and Expressions the same great Censor of the Ancients so sharply reproveth, noting in him very many Improprieties of Speech, and other absurdities: * and yet, for all this, he would not be taken off from his scribbling humour; and which is more, he did not want those who admired him too: it being commonly observed, That those who wrote most in any Age, were not always the ablest Men; this Itch reigning rather in the ignorant, than in the other. *Phorius* in his *Bibliotheca* hath noted the like defects in some of his Greek Writers. But yet this Obscurity in the Fathers hath proceeded, not from their Ignorance, but rather from their great Learning. For, those among them who were furnished with all manner of Secular Learning, and had been trained up from their Infancy in the Eloquence and Knowledge of the Greeks, could not but retain this Tincture, and sometimes also had their flyings out, and made shew of this their Treasury; by this means mixing with the Christian Philosophy many exotick Words, Customs, and Discourses: which Mixture, though it give indeed much delight to the Learned, yet it must necessarily render the sense of these Authors the more dark and perplexed. What can you name me more mixed, or fuller of variety, than *Clement Alexandrinus* his *Saromata*, as he calls them, and his other Works; which are throughout interlaced with Historical Allusions, Opinions, Sentences, and Proverbs, out of all sorts of Writers, both Sacred and Profane; be-
ing

ing here heightened with rich, lightſom Colours, there shaded with Darkneſs; in ſuch fort, as that it is a vain thing for an ignorant Perſon to hope ever to reach his meaning? What ſhall I ſay of *Tertullian*, who, beſides that natural harſhneſs and roughneſs which you meet with in him throughout, and that *Carthaginian* Spirit and *Genius* which is common to him with the reſt of the *African* Writers, hath yet ſhadowed and overcaſt his Conceptions with ſo much Learning, and with ſo many new Terms and Paſſages out of the *Law*, and with ſuch variety of Alluſions, Subtilties, and nice Points, as that the greateſt ſtock both of Learning and Attention that you can bring with you, will be all little enough to fit you for a perfect understanding of him. I ſhall not here ſpeak any thing of *S. Hilary*, and the ſoſtineſs of his Fancy, and the height of his Language, and that *Cotburnus Gallicanus* which *S. Hierome* hath noted in him, and ſome other of his Country-men. Neither ſhall I here take any notice of the Copiouſneſs of the *Africans*, nor of the ſubtilty of the *Athenians*, and of thoſe that had their Education among them; the conſideration of all which Particulars would afford matter for a juſt Tract. I ſhall only ſay in general, That whereas the manner of the *Chriſtians* Writing and expounding the Scriptures, was at firſt very plain, eaſie, and brief; it in a very ſhort time came to be changed, and to be clogg'd with Subtilties, and flouriſhes of Secular Learning; as *Methodius* in *Epiphanius* teſtifieth. * *The Doctors* (ſaith he) no longer regarding an honeſt, plain, and ſolid way of teaching, began now to endeavour to pleaſe, and to be favourably received by their Auditors; juſt as Sophiſters are wont to do, who reckon their Labours rewarded by their Auditors applauding their Learning; ſelling themſelves at this ſo cheap a rate. For as for the Ancients, their Expoſitions were always very brief; their

* *Method. apud Epiph. Har. 64.* Τῶν διδασκάλων ὅτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτερον ἀμικλασάντων ἔτι καὶ σπουδῇ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν καὶ ἀναιμωρεῖσθαι· καὶ ὡς οἱ Σοφισταί, οἱ μὲν ὅδῳ αἰετοῦνται καὶ λίγαν ἐκτείνουσι χρόνον τῆς σοφίας ἐπαίνοισι. Τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν βραχύ καὶ περιεχόν τὸ πλεονεκτήειν ἡμῶν, φιλοσημιμασάντων μὴ τέρεν, ἀλλὰ ἀφελῆν τὸ πλεονεκτήειν καὶ τὸ τετελεσμένον.

utmost ambition in those days being, not to please, but to profits their Hearers. Gregory Nazianzen also very sadly, and eloquently, as his manner is, complains of this.

* Greg. Naz. Enc. Athan. Ἦν, ὅτε ἡμᾶς τὰ ἡμέτερά, καὶ καλῶς ἔχον, νῦν τὸ μὴ πειτλῶν τὸτο καὶ κατ' ἐλπίσιν τῆς θεολογίας, καὶ ἔντεχρον, ἐδὲ πάροθεν ἔχον εἰς τὰς θείας αὐλὰς ἀλλὰ ταυτὸν ὡς, ψήφοις τε παίζον, καὶ ὅψιν, κλεπτίσας τῶ τάχῃ τὴν μελαθέουσι, ἢ κατ' ἐλπίσιν τῆς θεολογίας καὶ ἀνδρῶν λογισμασι, καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ λέγοντι, καὶ ἀκρίβη καινότερον, καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ἀπλὸν τε καὶ συναντῶν τὸ λόγῳ ἐπιτίθετα ἐνομιζέτο. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Σέξτοι, καὶ Πυθίωνες, καὶ ἡ ἀντιθέτω γὰρ ὅσα, ὡς τὸ τὴν νόσημα θύον καὶ κακόνθεσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἡ φλυαία πῶς δυνάται, καὶ, ὅ φησι περὶ Ἀθλουαίων ἢ ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν περὶ Θεοῦ, εἰ ἐδὲν ἄλλο ἐκκαίρετον, ἢ λέγοντι τὴν ἀκρίβη καινότερον. ὡς τίς Ἱερεμίας ἐδύρεται καὶ ἡμετέραν σύλῃν καὶ σκοτόμεναι, ὃ μόνον εἰδὼς ἐξισὺν θρήνους πάθεισιν.

* There was a time (saith he) when our Affairs flourished, and we were in a happy estate, when as this vain and wanton kind of Divinity, which is every where now in fashion, together with all its Artifices and Delicacies of Language, was not at all admitted into the Sheepfolds of the Lord. In those days, to hearken after, or to vent any Novelty or Curiosities in Divinity, was reckoned all one as to play the Juggler, and to shew Tricks of Leigerdemean, with cunning and nimble shiftings of Balls under a Cup, deceiving the Eyes of the Spectators; or else by delighting them with the various and effeminate Motions and Windings of a lascivious Dance. On the contrary, rather a plain, masculine, and free way of Discourse was then accounted the most Pious. But now, since that the Pythionians, and

those of Sextus his Faction, together with the Tongue of Contradiction, have, like some grievous, malignant Disease, broken in upon our Churches; since that Babbling is now allowed for Learning; and, as it is said in the Acts, of the Athenians, since we spend our time in nothing else but in hearing or telling some new thing; O for some Jeremy, to bewail the Confusion and Darkness we lie under; who might furnish us, as that Prophet was only able to do, with Lamentations suitable to our Calamities! And certainly S. Hieron.

ep. 50. rome *, in his Epistle to Pammachius, hath as good as said, ad Pammach. That even for his Writings also, it is necessary that the Reader be acquainted both with all the Sleights of Logic, and all the Flourishes and Heights of Rhetoric.

Which

Which censure of his reacheth also to the Writings of *Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, Tertullian, Cyprian, Minutius, Victorinus, Lactantius, Hilary*, and others; whom he affirmeth to have all observed the same method in their

Id. ibid.

Writings. Now although any Rational Man must needs willingly grant me, that the Translations of Terms and Figures, either in the Word only, or else in the Things themselves, and such other the like Ornaments of Rhetorick; as also the subtilties of Logick, and, in a word, all the Artifices in what other sorts of Learning soever there are, must necessarily render any Discourse the more obscure and shaded: yet for the fuller clearing of this Point, I shall here add

some few Proofs and Examples. *S. Hierome* declareth himself on our side sufficiently, where he attributeth the cause of the obscurity that is found in the Writings of some certain Authors, to their being too Learned and Eloquent.

Hier. sup. ep. 139. ad Cyp.

^a *Sixtus Senensis* observeth, That the Fathers have uttered many things in the heat of their Passion, which we are not to take in the strict literal sense. And *Petavius* hath

Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. lib. 6. Annot. 152.

of late also noted, ^b *That the Fathers have let fall from them, up and down in their Homilies, very many things, which cannot be reconciled to any good sense, if we should examine them by the exact Rule of Truth.* We both of us excuse this in them oftentimes thus, by shewing that under so many Flowers and Leaves, wherewith they crown

Petav. Not. in Epiph. Multa sunt à Sanctissimis Patribus, præsertimq; à Chrysostomo in Homiliis aspersa, quæ si ad exactæ veritatis regulam accommodare volueris, boni sensus inania videbuntur.

their Discourses, they many times couch a quite different Sense, from that which their Words in appearance seem to carry. Who hath not observed the strange Hyperboles of *S. Chrysostome, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose*, and the like? But that I may make it plainly and evidently appear unto you, how much these Ornaments do darken the clearness of the Sense of an Author, I shall onely here lay before

you one Instance, taken from *S. Hierome*; who, writing to *Eustochium*, giveth her an account, how that for his being too much addicted to the Study of Secular Learning, he was brought before the presence of our Lord, and was there really with Stripes chastised for it. And think not

Hier. ep. 21. ad Eustoch.

(saith

Ibid. Nec verò sopor ille fuerat, aut vana somnia, quibus sæpe deludimur. Testis est Tribunal illud, ante quod jacui; testis judicium triste quod timui. Ita mihi nunquam contingat in talem incidere quæstionem! Liventes fateor habuisse me scapulas, plagas sensisse post somnum, & tanto dehinc studio divina legisse, quanto non ante mortalia legeram.

* *Hier. Apol. adv. Ruffin.*
Hæc dicerem, si quippiam vigilans promissilem:
Nunc autem, novum impudentiæ genus, objicit mihi somnium meum.

Ibid. Audiat Prophetarum voces, somniis non esse credendum; quia nec adulterii somnium ducit me ad Tartarum, nec corona Martyrii in Cælum levat.

Ibid. Tu à me somni exigis sponsonem.

(saith he) that this was any of those drowsie Fancies, or vain Dreams, which sometimes abuse us. I call to witness hereof that Tribunal, before which I then lay, and that sad Judgment which I was then in dread of. So may I never hereafter fall into the like danger, as this is true! I do assure you, that I found my Shoulders to be all over black and blue, with the stripes I then received, and which I afterwards felt when I awaked: So that I have ever since had a greater affection to the reading of Divine Books, than I ever before had to the study of Humane Learning. Now hearing him speak thus, who would not believe this to

be a true Story? and who would not be ready to understand this Narration in the literal sense? And yet it appears plainly, from what he hath elsewhere confessed, that all this was but a meer Dream, and a Rhetorical piece of Artifice, frequently used by the Masters in this Art; contrived only for the better and more powerful diverting Men from their too great affection to the Books of the Heathens. For, *Ruffinus* picking a quarrel with him for this, and objecting against him, That contrary to the Oath which he had before taken, he did notwithstanding still apply himself to the study of Pagan Learning: *S. Hierome*, after he had alledged many things to quit himself from this Accusation, * *Thus you see* (saith he) *what I could have urged for my self, had I promised any such thing waking: But now do but take notice of this new and unheard of kind of impudence; He objects against me my very Dreams: And then presently doth he refer him to the Words of the Prophets, saying, We must not take heed to Dreams; for neither doth an adulterous Dream cast a Man into Hell; nor that of Martyrdom bring him to Heaven: And so he at last plainly says, That this Promise of his was made onely in a Dream; and that therefore consequently it carried no obligation with it. And who knows but that the Life of Mathus, which*

he

he hath so delicately and artificially described unto us, and some other the like Pieces of his, and of some others, may be the like Essays of Wit? We see he doth not stick to confess, That the Life of *Paulus Eremita* was accounted for such, by some of his back-friends: * and it is very probable, that his 47th Epistle, which is so full of Learning and Eloquence, is but an Essay of the same nature; he having there fancied to himself a fit Subject only: whereon to shew his own Eloquence, as the usual manner of Orators is. Thus thou seest, Reader, how great darkness is cast over the Writings of the Ancients by these Figures, and Flourishes of Rhetorick, and other Artifices of Humane Learning, which they so often and so over-licentious use, at least for our parts, who, to our great disadvantage, find, that so many Ornaments and Embellishments, do rather disguise and hide from us the bottom and depth of their Conceptions. Who shall assure us, that they have not made use of the same Arts in their Discourses touching the Eucharist, to advance the Dignity of the Divine Mysteries, and to increase the Peoples Devotion? as likewise touching the Power of the Prelates, to procure them the greater respect and obedience from their People? What probability is there that they would spare their Pencils, their Colours, their Shadows, and their Lights, in those Points where this their Art might have been employed to so good purpose? And to this place I shall refer those other Customs of theirs, which are so frequent with them, of denying and affirming things as it were absolutely; notwithstanding the purpose and intent of their Discourse be to deny or affirm them only by way of comparison, and reference to some other things. Who could chuse but think that *S. Hierome* was tainted with the Heresie of *Marcion*, and of the *Encratites*, hearing him so fiercely inveigh against Marriage, as he doth in his Books against *Jovinian*, and oftentimes in other places also? inso much that there have sometimes fallen from him such words as these: *Seeing that in the use*
of

* *Hier. in Vir.
Hilarion.*

Hier. lib. 1. advers. Jovin. Si corruptio ad omnem coitum pertinet, incorruptio autem propriè castitatis est; præmia pudicitæ nuptiæ possidere non possunt.

Ibid. Existimo quòd qui uxorem habet, quandiu revertitur ad id ipsum ne tentet eum Satanas, in carne seminat, & non in Spiritu. Qui autem in carne seminat, (non ego, sed Apostolus loquitur,) meretur corruptionem.

of the Woman there is always some Corruption; and that Incorruption properly belongeth to Chastity; Marriage (saith he) cannot be accounted of so high esteem as Chastity. And a little after: My opinion is, That he that hath a Wife, till such time as he returneth to that pass, as that Satan tempts him not, (that is to say, so long as he makes use of her, as of a Wife,) he sows in the Flesh, and not in the Spirit. Now he that soweth in the Flesh, (it is not I that say it, but the Apostle,) the same shall reap Cor-

ruption. Now these words, taken literally, condemn Marriage, and the use thereof, as defiling a Man, and depriving him of Blessed Immortality. Yet notwithstanding, in his Epistle to *Pammachius* he informeth us, That these Passages of his, and all other the like, are not to be understood as spoken positively and absolutely, but only by way of comparison; that is, he would be understood to say, That the Purity and Felicity of Virgins is such, as that in comparison of it, that of the Marriage-Bed is not at all to be mentioned. This Key is very necessary for the finding entrance into the Sense of the Ancients: and the Fathers of the VII Council made very good use of it, in

Concil. VII. Act. 6. Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡρώων τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων παραστάς, ἐν χρίστῳ σώματα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ οὐ ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τὰς εἰκόνας ἔχοντες· τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰρημύνα αὐτοὺς ψυχῶν αὐτῶν εἰκόνας ἔσθιν.

Ibid. Ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρρικά προσώπα αὐτῶν ἄξιον δὲ χρωμάτων ὀπμιλῆς ἡμῶν ἐκτυπῶν, (ὅτι δὲ χρῖσθαι τῶν τῶν) ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκμιμῆσαι.

giving the Sense of two or three Passages that were objected against them by the *Iconoclasts*. The first was out of *S. Chrysostome*: *Through the Scriptures we enjoy the presence of the Saints, having the Images, not of their Bodies, but of their Souls. For, the things there spoken by them, are the Images of their Souls.* The second was out of *Amphilochius*: *Our care is, not to draw in Colours on Tables the Natural Faces of the Saints; (for we have no need of any such thing) but rather to imitate their Life & Conversation,*

by following the Example of their Vertue. The third was out of

of

of *Austerius*: Draw not the Portraiture of Christ on thy garments; but rather bestow upon the Poor the price that these expences would amount to. For as for him, it is sufficient that he once humbled himself, in taking upon him our flesh. Would not any man, that hears these words, believe these three Fathers to have been *Iconoclasts*? I confesse, I cannot see, what almost could have been said more expressly against Images: and yet the second Council of *Nice* pretendeth, * that these Fathers here speak only by way of Comparison; meaning to say no more, than that the Images of *Jesus Christ*, and of the Saints, are much less profitable than the reading their Books, or the imitation of their Lives, or than Charity toward the Poor. I know very well, that it is no very easie matter, handsomely to apply this Answer to the words of these Fathers: However we may make this use of it; that seeing that the Council of *Nice* hath followed this Rule, it is an evident Argument to us, that the sayings of the Fathers both may, and ought sometimes to be taken in a quite different sense from what they seem to bear: so that it will clearly follow from hence, that they are very hard to be understood. Consider then with your self, whether or no among the so many several Passages, as are brought on the one side, and on the other, touching the present Controversies, there may not be very many of them, which are to be understood, as hath formerly been said, by way of Comparison only; that is to say, quite contrary to what they seem to say. Now as the Rhetorick used by the Fathers hath rendred their Discourses made to the People full of obscurity; in like manner hath their Logick sown a thousand Thorns, and Difficulties, throughout their Polemical Writings. For many times, while they are in the heat of their Disputations, they have their mind so intent upon the present scope they drive at, as that having regard to nothing else, they let fall such expressions, as look very strangely; if they be considered

Ibid. μη γράφει & χερσίν
in ἱματίοις, ἀλλὰ μάλλον
& ἀναλωμάτων τῶν
ἐκ τῶν πωλῶν τῶν
ἐκ τῶν πωλῶν ἀρκείν. ἀρκείν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ
μία & ἰσχυματώσας τὰ
τελῶν.

*Concil. VII ubi
supra.*

in reference to some other Points of Christian Religion. Sometimes also, whilst they use their utmost endeavour to beat down one Error, they seem to run into the contrary Error: in like manner as those who would streighten a crooked Plant, are wont to bow it as much the contrary way; that so having been worked out of its former bent, it may at length rest in a middle posture: which similitude † *Theodores* also maketh use of, upon this very sub-

† *Theod. Dial. 3. c. 30.* Ἡ σοφία τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀμαχία τῆ ἀμείλειαι αὐτῶν ταῦ τὸ ὅτι τῶν καὶ τοῖς εὐτηκμοῖς φίλον ποιεῖν ὅταν ὁ ἰδωσιν κακὸν ποιεῖν, ὃ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ὁρῶν ἀνιστῶσιν καὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὅς τὸ ἔτερον ἀντικλίνουσι μὴ ὅτι, ἵνα τῷ ὅτι πάλιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιελίσσῃ τὸ ἀδελφὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν. *Sic & Bas. de Dion. Alex. ep. 41.*

† *Athan. Ep. de fid. Dion. Alex.* ὡς ἀπλῶς, ὡς πῶς ἐνδύμε-
ν. Μοχ; καὶ πρὸς τὸν πρὸς τὸν
πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν ἀλλοτρεῶς ἀλ-
λως ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον
μὲν καὶ γὰρ ποιεῖται καὶ ὁ
διὰ τὸ μὲν ταῦτα ἀντὶ τοῦ
τὸν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ταῦτα ἐκεί-
νο ὃ ἐκκελεῖται, &c. ἀλλὰ καὶ
μᾶλλον μαζὶν καὶ αὐτῶν, θαυ-
μάσει τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ-
σίων.

* *Athan. Ibid.* Τὰ ἴσα τῶν ἀδελφῶν
κατ' οἰκονομίαν ὑπερβαίνον.

† *Athan. Ibid.*

ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ

κατ' οἰκονομίαν ὑπερβαίνον, καὶ ὑπομείνουν τὰ αὐτῶν ἀλλοτρεῶς ἀλλως, καὶ ὁσίων
ἐκκελεῖται.

ject. And in this manner also did *Athanasius* explain those words of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, which were urged against him by the *Arrians*, as seeming to make very much for them, as we have touched before. He wrote not this, († *Athanasius* answereth,) Positively, and with a purpose of giving an account of his Belief in these Words; but as being led on to utter them, by the occasion, and the persons he discoursed with. In like manner (saith he) as a Gardiner ordereth the same Trees in a different manner, according to the difference of the soil where they are. Neither may any one blame him, for lopping off some, and grafting others; for planting this, and plucking up that by the roots. On the contrary rather, whoever knows the reason of this, will admire the variety, and several ways of his industrious Proceeding. And then afterwards he saith, that * *Dionysius* maintained those Positions, upon occasion of the Error of certain Bishops of *Pemapolis*, who maintained the opinion of *Sabellius*;

and that he did this, by Dispensation, as he there speaks; that is to say, not positively and simply, but as in reference to such a certain case only. Now no man ought † (saith he)

to wrest to the worst sense, those things which are either said, or done by Dispensation: or to interpret them as himself pleases. And in another place he in the same manner explaineth the words of the Fathers of the Council of Antioch, who had denied the *Consubstantiality* of the Son; * shewing that their intention was, only to overthrow a Position which *Paulus Samosatenus* had laid down; namely, that the Father, and the Son, were both one and the self same Person, and had not any distinct Subsistence. By this very Rule also doth *S. Basil* interpret that saying of *Gregorius Nazianzenensis*, namely, That the Father and the Son are Two, according to our Apprehension only; but that in Hypostasis they are but One: saying, That he spoke this, not Dogmatically, but only let it fall from him in the heat of Disputation. Whence it appeareth, that in all such Writings of the Fathers, the opinion which they oppugn, is the Rule and Measure of whatsoever they are to be understood therein either to affirm, or deny. This is that which varieth their sense and meaning, though oftentimes expressed in the same manner, and with the very same words, with that of the Hereticks. When they dispute against the *Valentinians*, or the *Manichees*; a man would then believe them to be *Pelagians*: and so likewise, when they are contending with the *Pelagians*, you would then imagine, that they defended the opinions of the *Manichees*. If they dispute against *Arius*, you would think they favoured *Sabellius*: and again, when they oppose *Sabellius*, you would believe that they were *Arians*: as hath been observed by the Bishop of * *Biponte*, particularly in *S. Augustine*. The like practice to this, we may every day observe in our Preachers. When they preach against Covetousness, they seem in a manner to cry up Prodigality: and if they declaim against Prodigality, they then seem to approve Covetousness. Thus is it also with the Protestants: when they would overthrow those empty Figures, which are fathered by

Basil. Ep. 64 πατέρας ὅν ὁν ὁμοία ὁ ὁ υἱός, ὁμοούσιος ὅ ὅ.

Ibid. τὸ τοῦ ὁτι ὁ ἀντικείμενος ἑστὶν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικὸς, ἐν τῇ περὶ Αἰκλεανδρὸν διαλέξει καὶ ἡ δυνάμεισιν ὁμοίων, &c.

* *Corn. Mussius Episc. Bipont. Comment. in ep. ad Rom. c. 5.*

their Adversaries upon those they call *Sacramentarians*, you would judge that they maintained the Reality of the *Eucharist*, as the manner of speaking is. And when they dispute against *Transubstantiation*, and the *Real Presence*, you would then swear, that they defended the opinion of these very *Sacramentarians*. There is, amongst *Arbanaſius* his Works, a certain very learned, elegant, and acute Treatise, wherein is debated, as strongly as may be, that Point, touching the Distinction of the Two Natures in *Jesus Christ*. Do but read what he there says, in the beginning of that Discourse, and you will think it could not proceed from any but from *Nestorius* his mouth. And yet you will perceive plainly by the last Chapter of the said Book, that he was not any whit of his opinion. Now if by any misfortune it should so have hapned, that this last Chapter had been lost, *Arbanaſius* must necessarily have been taken for a *Nestorian*, by reason of the dangerous Expressions which he hath there made use of, being occasioned thereunto through the heat of this Dispute, which he maintained against the opinions of the *Eutychians*. And for the very same reason also, *Julius* Bishop of Rome, seemeth to have favoured the contrary Error, namely that of *Eutyches*, in that Epistle of his cited by *Gennadius*; which was indeed heretofore of good use, against the opinion of those men, who maintained Two Persons in Christ; but which † now is found to be pernicious, (saith he) by fomenting the impieties of *Eutyches* and *Timotheus*: Which hath given occasion to some of the more * Modern Authors, who have written since *Gennadius* his time, to think that this Epistle was not truly Pope *Julius* his, but had been put upon him by the false dealing of the Hereticks. The case was the same with these Ancient Fathers, as it is with a Pilot of a Ship, who is to steer his Vessel betwixt two Rocks, one only whereof he hath discovered; the other lying hid under water: so that taking no other care, save only to avoid the danger which he seeth before his eyes, he very easily falleth into

T. 2. Oper. *Arbanaſii*.
 them. Par. impr.
 a. 1. 1627. *ἡ ἐξ*
αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν,
Ἰουδαιοὶ ἐστίν,
ὁ μὴ ἡμολογῶν
Θεὸν ἑσαυτῷ
δα.

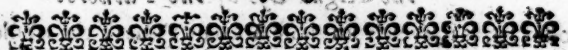
† *Gennad. in*
Catalinier Op.
Hier. Nunc au-
tem pernicio-
sa probatur.
Fomentum e-
nim est Euty-
chianæ & Ti-
motheanæ im-
pietatis.
 * *Facund.*
Herm. defens.
 3. capit. lib. 1
 p. 40. quo loco
 vide *Simon-*
dum.

into that other, which he never so much as suspected : so that if he split not his Vessel upon it, and so be utterly cast away, he will very hardly however avoid receiving a bruise at least by it. Thus these Fathers saw indeed the Rock of *Paulus Samosatenus* his Doctrine, and that of *Nestorius* ; but did not at all observe that of *Arium*, or of *Eutyches*, which lay yet under water, and concealed ; and so employing their utmost endeavours to avoid the danger of the two former, which they then only feared, they have very hardly escaped falling into, or at least touching very near upon the two latter, which they then had no thought of at all. Do but imagine then, how warily and carefully it concerneth us to walk, amidst these Disputes of the Ancients, which are so beset with Thorns ; and with how much judgment we are to distinguish betwixt what things are Principal, and what but Accidental only ; betwixt the Cause, and the Means ; and betwixt the Excess, or Defect in their Expressions, and their True sense, and meaning : and then tell me whether you think it reasonable, or not, that two or three words only, which may perhaps accidentally have fallen from them in their Disputations, either against the *Valentinians*, and *Marcionites*, or against the *Nestorians*, or *Eutychists*, should be taken as their Definitive Sentences upon such Points as are now controverted amongst us, whether touching *Free-will*, or the *Properties of the Body of Christ*, and the nature of the *Eucharist*. But, before we close up this matter, we are to take notice, that the changing of Customs, both Civil, and Ecclesiastical especially, and the variation of Words in their signification, do not a little contribute to this Difficulty of understanding the Writings of the Fathers. Who knoweth not, and indeed who confesseth not, both on the one side, and on the other, that the outward Face of the World, and even of the Church it self too, is in a manner wholly changed ? I speak not here of the Doctrine ; but only of the upper Garment, as I may call it, and the outward part of the Church.

Church. Where is the Ancient Discipline? What is become of the rigid and severe Rules of those Ancient Times? Where are those so mysterious Ceremonies in Baptism, and in the Administration of the Eucharist? Where are those Customs then used in the Ordination of the Clergy? All these things are now quite forgotten and buried; the Church by little and little having appalled it self in other Colours, and in another different Garb. The Books then of the Ancients being full of Allusions to these things, which we are in a manner now wholly ignorant of; it must necessarily follow from hence, that it will be a hard matter for us to guess at their meaning in any such Passages. But yet there ariseth much more confusion out of the words they used; which we have still retained, though in a different signification. We have indeed these words, *Pope, Patriarch, Mass, Oblation, Station, Procession, Mortal Sins, Penance, Confession, Satisfaction, Merit, Indulgence*, as the Ancients had, and make use of an infinite number of the like Terms; but understand them all in a sense almost as far different from theirs, as our Age is removed from theirs: Just in like manner as of old, under the Roman Emperours, the names of Offices, and of things, for a long time continued the same that had been in use in the time of the old Republick, but with a sense clear different from what they had formerly born. Thus when we light upon any Passage in the Ancients, where the Bishop of Rome is called *Papa*, or *Pope*; we presently begin to fancy him with all his *Pontificalibus* about him, and all the Glory at this day belonging to this Name; not bating him so much as his Guard of *Switzers*, and his Light-Horses: whereas they, that are but indifferently versed in these Books, know, that the name *Papa* or *Pope*, was given to every Bishop. So likewise when we meet with the word *exomologesis* or *Confession*, we presently fancy a man down upon his knees before his Confessor, striving himself before him in private of all the sins he hath committed. The word *Mass* likewise makes us prick up our

our ears, as if, even from those Ancient Times, the whole Liturgy, and all the Ceremonies used at the Celebration of the Eucharist, had been the very same that they are at this day: whereas the Learned of both Parties acknowledge, that these Names have, since that time, lost very much of their old, and acquired new significations. But this, which hath been said, is enough, if not more than needed, for the clearing this Point, touching the obscurity in the Writings of the Fathers: so that we shall here conclude, what we proposed at the beginning; namely, that it is not so easie a matter, as people may imagine, to discover by their Writings, what the sense of the Ancient Church hath been, touching the Points at this day controverted amongst Us.

CHAP.



C H A P. VI.

Reason VI. *That the Fathers oftentimes conceal their own Private Opinions, and speak those things which themselves believed not; whether it be, when they report the Opinion of some others, without naming the persons; as they frequently do in their Commentaries; or in disputing against an Adversary, where they make use of whatsoever they can; or else whether they have done so, in compliance to their Auditory, as may be observed in their Homilies.*

THE Writings of the Fathers are, for the most part, of three sorts; that is, they are either Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures; or Homilies delivered before the People; or else they are Polemical Discourses, and Disputations with the Hereticks. Now we have formerly seen, how much their Ornaments of Rhetorick have darkned, and rendred their sense obscure, in their Writings of the first and second sort; and what their Heats of Disputation, and Logical Wranglings have caused, in those of the later. Let us now see, if having drawn the Expressions of the Fathers out of these thick Clouds, and attained to a clear and perfect understanding of the sense of them; we may be able at length to rest assured, that we have discovered what their opinions have been. I confess, I could heartily wish that it were so: but considering what they have themselves informed us, concerning the nature, and manner of their Writings; I am much afraid, that we neither may, nor indeed ought, to reckon our selves in any sure condition, even then, when we are upon these very Terms. For as concerning their Commentaries, which we have often occasion to consult,

consult, upon sundry Passages of Scripture, touching the meaning whereof we disagree among our selves; hear what S. Hierome saith, who was the most Learned of all the Latins, and who gives place but very little to any of the Greeks in these Matters. *What* (saith he) *is the business of a Commentary?*

It expoundeth the Words of another Man, and declareth in plain Terms the Sense of Things obscurely written; it representeth the several Opinions of others, and saith, Some expound this Passage thus, and others interpret it thus. These endeavour to prove their Sense and Meaning, by such Testimonies, and such Reasons; to the end that the Intelligent Reader having several Expositions before him, and reading the Judgments of divers Men, some bringing what he may, and others perhaps what he cannot admit of, he may judge which among the rest is the truest; and like a wise Banker, may refuse all adulterated Coin. Now I would fain ask, whether he ought to be accounted guilty of diversity in his Interpretations, or of Contradiction in the Senses given, when one and the same Commentary shall deliver the Expositions of divers Persons? And so on, as it there followeth in the Place, afore-cited. He speaketh likewise to the same sense in divers other Places throughout his Works.

** This (saith he) is the usual manner of Commentaries, and the Rule that Commentators go by; to set down in their Expositions the several Opinions they have met withal, and to deliver both what their own, and what the Judgment of others is upon the Place. And this is the practice not only of the Interpreters of the Scriptures, but of the Expositors also of all*

Hier. ep. ad Pammach. & Marc. Apol. advers. Ruf. Commentarii quid operis habent? Alterius dicta edisserunt; quæ obscure scripta sunt, plano sermone manifestant, multorum sententias replicant, & dicunt, Hunc locum quidam sic edisserunt, alii sic interpretantur; illi sensum suum & intelligentiam his testimoniis, & hac auctoritate ratione firmare; ut prudens Lector cum diversas explanationes legerit, & multorum vel probanda vel improbanda didicerit, judicet quid verius sit, & quasi bonus Trapezita adulterinæ monetæ pecuniam reprobet. Num diversæ interpretationis, & contrariorū inter se sensuum tenebitur unus, qui in uno opere quod edisserit, expositiones posuerit plurimorum?

** Id. Apol. advers. Ruf. Hic est Commentariorum mos, & explanandum regula, ut opiniones in expositione varias persequantur, & quid vel sibi, vel aliis videatur edisserant. Et hoc non solum sanctorum interpretes scripturarum, sed secularium quoque litterarum explanatores faciunt, tam Latine Lingue quam Græcæ.*

kind

kind of Secular Learning, as well in the Greek as in the Latin Tongue. Now I must needs say, that this seems to be a very strange way of Commenting. For, what light, or what certainty can a Reader be able to gather out of such a Rhapsodie of different Opinions, tumbled together in a heap, without so much as intimating either which is good or bad, or probable, or necessary, or to the purpose, or not? But seeing it hath pleased St. Hierome to follow this course, whatsoever his reason be, you see plainly, that we are not to take as his, whatsoever he hath delivered in his Commentaries. And seeing also he speaks in general terms, as he doth, of the nature and manner of a Commentary, we are not to doubt, but that the rest of the Fathers have been the greater part of them of the same Judgment, and that consequently they took the same course in those Expositions, which we have of theirs. So that it will hence follow, that notwithstanding that we should chance to find in these kind of Writings of theirs, an Opinion, or an Interpretation, clearly delivered; yet may we not from thence presently conclude, that this was the Authors own Opinion; for, perhaps he only delivered it as the Opinion of some other Man. Now if the Fathers had been but careful to have taken in Water out of wholesome Fountains only, filling up their Commentaries with no other Opinions or Interpretations, save only those of Persons of known Piety, Faith, and Learning, this Mixture would have proved the less dangerous by much. For, notwithstanding that we should often be at a stand, and doubt, whether that which we there find be the true Sense and Opinion of the Father whose Name it goes under, yet however we might still rest assured, that though it should not perhaps be his, yet must it certainly be the Opinion of some other good Author, if not of equal, yet of little less Authority than he. But the mischief of it is, that they took a quite contrary course, many times stuffing up their Commentaries with very strange senseless Expositions, and sometimes too with dangerous ones, and such as were taken out of

very

very suspected Authors, and which had no very good Name neither in the Church. *S. Hierome* tells us often, (and whoever shall but diligently and attentively read him, may easily observe as much) that his Commentaries (which make the greatest and most considerable part of his Works) are interwoven throughout with Expositions taken out of *Origen*, *Didymus*, *Apollinarius*, and others, who were at that time ill spoken of, as Men who too presumptuously put upon the World their own private Opinions; *Fashioning the Mysteries of the Church out of their own private Fancies*; as *S. Hierome* himself sometime said of *Origen*. Now this is wonderful strange to me; for, no Man is more fierce in crying down these Authors, than he; being indeed one of the principal Heads of that *Holy League* of *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius*, against *Origen* and his Party. No Man ever reproved any one so sharply, as he hath done *Ruffinus*, for offering to present to the view of the *Latins* the poysonous Doctrines of *Origen*, in those Books of his which he had translated: And in the mean time he himself stuffs up his own Commentaries with the same; many times without using any preparation at all about them, or furnishing his Reader with any Counter-poyson, in case he meet with any of them. So likewise, in his Commentaries upon the Prophets, he ever and anon bringeth in divers Expositions out of the *Jews* themselves; insomuch that when you think you are reading and searching after the Opinion and Sense of *S. Hierome*, upon such or such a Passage, you often read that of an *Heretick*, or of a *Jew*. If the Fathers would have but taken the pains to have given us notice every time, who the Author was whose Opinion they alledged; this manner of Commenting upon the Scriptures would have been much more beneficial unto us, and less troublefom. For, the Name would have been useful to us, in directing us what account we were to make of such Opinions and Expositions. But this they do but very seldom; as you may observe out of the Ex-

Hier. Præfat. in Comment. in ep. ad Galat. & Apol. 2. adv. Russ. & ep. 89. ad August. & alibi sæpe.

Hier. Comment. 5 in Es præf. de Origine Ingenium suum facit Ecclesiæ Sacramenta.

Vid. Comment. in Nahum.

Vid. Hieron. A-
ppl. ad v. Russi
ad Patm. mch.
Cy. Marcell. Cy.
Ep. 141. ad
Marcell.

Id. Comment. in
ep. ad Galat.

Uthypocrisis
observanda
Legis, quæ no-
cebat iis qui
ex gentibus
crediderant,
correctionis
hypocrisis e-
mendaretur,
& uterque po-
pulus salvus fi-
eret; dum &
qui circumci-
sionem lau-
dant, Petrum
sequuntur, &
qui circumcidi
nolunt, Pauli
prædicant li-
bertatem.

^b Hieron. e. ad
August. qua est
89.

positions of S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, and others; who robbing poor Origen without any mercy, do not yet do him the honour so much as to name him scarcely. This is certain, that you shall find in S. Ambrose many times whole Periods, and whole Pages too, taken out of S. Basil; but, unless my memory fail me very much, you shall never find him once named there. These Men deliver you the Opinions and Words of other Men, just as if they were their own; and yet will not be bound to warrant them us for good and sound. S. Hierome, in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, expoundeth that Passage where there is mention made of S. Paul's reproving S. Peter, by way of Dispensation; telling us, that S. Paul did not reprehend him, as if he had indeed accounted him blame-worthy; but only for the better Edification, and bringing in of the Gentiles, by this seeming Reprehension of his; who did but act this part with S. Peter, ^a to the end (saith he) that the Hypocrisie, or false shew of observing the Law, which offended those among the Gentiles who had believed, might be corrected by the Hypocrisie, or false shew of Reprehension; and that by this means both the one and the other might be saved: whilst the one, who stood up for Circumcision, followed S. Peter; and those other, who refused Circumcision, applaud, and are taken with S. Paul's Liberty. S. Augustine, utterly disliking this Exposition of S. Hierome, wrote unto him in his ordinary, grave, and meek way; modestly declaring the Reasons why he could not assent unto it: which Epistles of his are yet extant. The other answers him a thousand strange things; but particularly he there ^b protesteth, That he will not warrant for sound whatever shall be found in that Book of his. And to shew that he doth not do this without good reason, he setteth down a certain Passage out of his Preface to it, which is very well worth our Consideration. For after he hath named the Writings of Origen, Didymus, Apollinarius, Theodorus, Heraclius, Eusebius Emisenus, Alexander the Heretick, and

and others, he adds, *That I may therefore plainly tell the truth, I confess, that I have read all these Authors; and collecting together as much as I could in my memory, I presently called for a Scribe, to whom I dictated either my own Conceptions, or those of other Men, without remembering either the Order, or the Words sometimes, or the Sense.* Do but think now with your self, whether or no this be not an excellent rare way of Commenting upon the Scriptures, and very well worthy both to be esteemed and imitated by us! He then turneth his Speech to *S. Augustine*, saying, *If therefore thou lightedst upon anything in my Exposition, which was worthy of reprehension, it would have stood better with thy Learning, to have consulted the Greek Authors themselves, and to have seen whether what I have written be to be found in them, or not; and, if not, then to have condemned it, as my own private Opinion.* And he elsewhere gives the same answer to * *Ruffinus*, who upbraideth him for some absurd Passages in his Commentaries upon the Prophet *Daniel*. Now, according to this reckoning, if we would know whether or no what we meet with in his Commentaries be his own proper Sense, or not; we must first turn over the Books of all these ancient *Greeks*; that is to say, we must do that which is now impossible to be done; seeing that the Writings of the greatest part of them are utterly lost: and must not attribute any thing to him, as his proper Opinion, how clearly and expressly soever it be delivered, unless we are first able to make it appear, that it is not to be found in any of those Authors out of whose Writings he hath patched up his Commentaries. For, if any one of them be found to have delivered any thing you here meet with, you are to take notice, that it belongeth to that Author; *S. Hierome* in this case having been onely his Transcriber, or at most but his Translator. So that you may be able, perhaps, by the reading of Books in this manner collected, to judge whether the Fathers have had the skill to make a handsom and artificial Connexion and Digestion

of

Hier. ibid. Itaque simpliciter fatear legi hæc omnia, & in mente mea plurima coacervans acci-
to notario, vel mea, vel aliena-
dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum inter-
terdum, nec sensuum memo-

Id. ibid. Si quid igitur reprehensione dignum putaveras in explanatione nostra, eruditio-
nis tuæ fuerat quærere, &c.
Vide & Apol. contra Ruff.
* *Id. Apol. 2. adv. Ruff.*

of those things which they took out of so many several Authors, or not: but whether or no they believed all that they have set down in their Books, you will be no more able to discover, than you can judge what Belief any Man is of, by the Books he transcribeth; or can guess at the Opinions of an Interpreter, by the Books he translateth. Whence we may conclude, that testimonies brought out of such Books as these, are of little or no force at all, either for or against us. And this seemeth to have been the Opinion of Cardinal Bellarmine also, where, to a certain Objection brought out of one of S. Hierome's Books, he makes this Answer; *That the Author in that place speaketh according to the Opinion of others; as he often doth in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and in other places.* The like course hath Cardinal Perron taken, where the Protestants have urged against the Church of Rome, the Authority of S. Hilary, touching the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament; confidently answering, That the Notes cited out of that place of S. Hilary, are not his, but Origen's, in his Commentary upon the First Psalm; part of whose Words he had transcribed, and put into his own Prologue upon the Psalms: and yet S. Hilary neither so much as nameth Origen, nor yet gives us any intimation at all, whether we are to receive what is there spoken touching the Scriptures, as from Origen, or from himself. And the ground of this Answer of his is taken from what S. Hierome hath testified in divers places; namely, that S. Hilary hath transcribed the greatest part of his Commentaries out of the said Origen. Now if we but rightly consider the account which S. Hierome hath given, as we shewed before, of all Commentaries in general, how can we have any assurance whether that which the Fathers deliver in these kind of Writings, be their own proper Opinion, or only some other Man's transcribed? And if we can have no assurance hereof, how can we then account them of any force at all, either for or against us? So that it is most evident,
that

that this Method which the Fathers have observed in their Expositions of the Scriptures, must needs render the things themselves very doubtful, how clearly and expressly soever they have delivered themselves. But hath it not concerned them to be more careful in their *Homilies*, or Sermons; and to deliver nothing there, save only what hath been their own proper Opinion, and Belief? May we not, at least in this particular, rest assured, that they have spoken nothing, but from their very soul; and that their Tongues have vented here their own Opinions only, and not those of other Men? Certainly, in all reason, they should not have uttered any thing in this Sacred Place, from whence they taught their People, save what they conceived to have been most true. And yet, besides what we have formerly noted, as to this particular, namely, that they did not always speak out the whole truth, but concealed something of it, as not so fit for the ears either of the *Pagans*, or of the weaker sort of *Christians*; Cardinal *Perron*, that great and curious Inquirer into all the Customs of the Ancients, hath informed us, that in regard of the aforesaid Considerations, they have sometimes gone further yet. For, in expounding the Scriptures to the People, where the *Catechumeni* were present, if by chance they fell upon any Passage where the Sacraments were spoken of, that they might not discover these Mysteries, they would then make bold to wrest the Text a little, and instead of giving them the true and real Interpretation of the Place, which they themselves knew to be such, they would only present their Auditory with an Allegorical and Symbolical, and (as this Cardinal saith) an Accidental and Collateral one, only to give them some kind of small satisfaction; forasmuch as, if in such cases they should have been utterly silent, it would questionless have much amazed their Auditors, and in some sort also have scandalized, and given them offence. To satisfy therefore their expectation, and yet to keep these Mysteries still concealed from them, they

waved

*Perron of the
Euchar. l. 1. c.
10. Aut. 24. ch.
15. & passim
locis infra cit-
tandis.*

waved the business handsomely, laying before them that which they accounted not the best and truest, but the fittest for their purpose and design. Thus do we sometimes please little Children with an Apple, or some little Toy, to take them off the desire they have to something of greater value. Those therefore who take all that the Fathers deliver in the like places for good and solid Expositions, and such as they themselves really believed, do very much deceive themselves; and believing they have a solid Body in their Arms, embrace only an empty Shadow. Now we should hardly believe those Holy Men to have been guilty of any such juggling dealing as this, had we not the word of this so great a Cardinal for our Warrant; upon whose Authority we have, for this once, adventured to propose it to the Readers consideration, and shall withal produce some few Examples, taken out of the same Author. *S. Augustine* being to expound the sixth Chapter of the Gospel of *S. John*, where, as he conceives, our Saviour Christ is very copious in his Discourse concerning the Eucharist; he presently falls to overshadow and disguise the Mystery, with such a number of Allegories, Riddles, and Ambiguities, as that, if you dare believe the Cardinal, throughout the whole XXVI Tract there is not one Period but hath in it some Elusion, Diversion, or Diminution of the true and solid Definition of this Article. Thus doth he interpret the Bread which came down from Heaven, to be the Gift of the Holy Ghost: *Our Saviour* (saith he) *purposing to send down the H. Ghost, saith, That It is the Bread which descended from Heaven.* You may, if you please, believe, upon the faith of this Father, that this is the true sense and meaning of the Place: But yet the Cardinal makes it appear, out of *Calvin*, that it cannot be so. He likewise contradiceth after the same manner, that which the same Father saith a little after; to wit, That the purpose of our Saviour was, to let us understand that this *Meat and Drink*, whereof he speaks in *S. John*, is the Communion and Fellowship

Perron. Tract.
de S. August. c.
12. de lib 2. de
Euch. Ant. 22.
c. 1.

ship, that is betwixt his Body, and his Members, who are the Holy Church, in his faithful Servants, Predestinated, Called, Justified, and Glorified. Had not the Cardinal given us this information, who would ever have imagined, that this Author (who was so Conscientious, as that he made it a great quarrel against S. Hierome, only for having laid Disimulation to St. Paul's charge,) should here himself say, that our Saviour Christ would have us to understand His Words thus, unless he himself really believed this to be the true sense and meaning of them? The Cardinal applies also this very consideration, to the greatest part of those other Passages, cited out of this Father, by the Protestants; as namely to this: *to believe in Christ, is, to eat the Bread of Life: and to this other, He that believeth in him, eateth of it; and he is invisibly fed by it, because that he is also invisibly born again: and this other: Whosoever eateth of this Bread, he shall never die: but this is to be understood of him that eateth of it, according to the vertue of the Sacrament, and not according to the visible Sacrament; of him that eateth of it Internally, and not Externally; of him that eateth of it with his heart, and not of him that cheweth it with his teeth.* In all which places the Cardinal pretendeth, that S. Augustine suppresseth the true, full, and solid Definition of this Manducation, or eating of the Flesh, and drinking the Blood of Christ; and instead thereof, presenteth this Allegorical, and Accidental Meditation to the Catechumens, only to cast a mist, as it were, before their Eyes, and to elude their curiosity. He makes use of the same course also, in answering those Passages, which are alledged by the Protestants out of Theodoret, and Gregory Nazianzen*, who, he *Id. de Eucb.* saith, † called the Eucharist, the Antitype of the Body and † *Aut. 24.* Blood of Christ, in the same manner as Abraham, being *c. 15.* among Infidels, called Sarab, his Sister; concealing something of what was true, but yet affirming nothing that was false. He likewise explaineth after the same manner this Passage, out of Clemens Alexandrinus his *Pedago-*

† Perron. de
Euch. l. 2.

Aut. 3.

* Id. de Euch.

pag. 52. 329.

332. 339.

344 356. 417.

420. 434. 501.

503. 508. 510.

516. & Trac.

de S. August.

p. 55. 57. 95.

145. 191.

The *Form*, and the *Body* of *Christ*, is *Faith*, and the *Promise*. In a word, he is so much pleased with this Observation, as that he fetcheth it in at every turn: and indeed we may very well say, that this is his main Treasury, out of which he produceth the greatest part of those subtil, and so admired Solutions that he giveth to the Passages objected against them out of the Fathers. Those that have a mind to examine these places of his, may happily find something to return upon him, in some of those Applications which he hath there made. It is enough for our present purpose, that he grants us, that the Fathers in their Sermons and Discourses made to the people have oftentimes made use of this piece of Art; it following clearly from hence, that we cannot then possibly have any assurance; that they themselves accounted, as solid and full, such Expositions, and Opinions, as they have delivered in these Writings of theirs. For, as the Cardinal endeavourth by this means to weaken the force of those Passages of S. *Augustine*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Theodore*, and *Clement Alexandrinus*, may not the Protestants, when you alledge against them any Passages out of the Homilies of St. *Chrysostom*, or *Eucherius*, which seem to make strongly against their opinions, be allowed to have the same Liberty, and to answer; that these Fathers speaking before the people, made use of this *Dispensation*, speaking that which they thought to be, not the Best, and Truest; but the most proper for the edification of others? and that they had an apprehension, that a bare and downright expression of the Truth, might possibly have taken off the Heat of the peoples Devotion there being apparently (say they) more cause to doubt, that the people might disesteem and slight the Sacrament, than to fear lest they should adore it: as indeed the Fathers are much more careful in concealing the matter of the Sacrament, the outward appearance whereof is apt to make it disesteemed; than they are in concealing the Form, which is of so Venerable a nature. Laying often,

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and in expresse terms, that it is *the Body of Christ*; but ordinarily forbearing to say, that it is, or that it was, a *Piece of Bread*.

We come now to the third sort of the Writings of the Ancients, wherein the Fathers dispute against the Adversaries of their faith; namely, the *Pagans, Jews, and Hereticks*. We have formerly touched, how much obscurity the earnestness and heat of spirit have caused in the expressions of the Fathers; and this defect proceedeth from the weakness of their Passion only; and not from any design, or purpose that they had of speaking thus, rather than otherwise. For, seeing that all manner of passions do disturb, and in some small measure, as it were, confound the Judgment; and seeing it is hard for a Man, how holy soever he be, to go through with a Disputation, without some alteration in his Temper, especially if it be of any Importance, as all those touching Religion are: we are not to wonder at it, if in these Cases we sometimes find the language of the Fathers something mixed, and appearing of several colours: such as Passion usually dyeth both the Countenance and the Words withal of such persons, as it hath seized on. But besides this Confusion, which is caused mostly by the Agitation of the spirits, without the Fathers so much as thinking of it; we are here further to take notice, that the proper design, and the Law of the Method that is observed in disputations, is the cause of our encountering with so many, and so great Difficulties. For their opinion was, that in this kind of Writing it was lawful for them to say, and make use of any thing, that might advance their Cause, although it were otherwise but Light and Trivial; or perhaps also contrary to what themselves believed; and so, on the other side, to conceal and reject whatsoever might prejudice their Cause, though otherwise True, and allowable. Now that this Observation may not seem strange, and incredible, as coming out of my mouth; let us hear what they themselves say in this particular. And first let us

hear S. *Hierome*, who was the greatest Critick of them all, and who by often exercising the strength of his admirable Wit, both by himself, and with others, hath observed more, touching the Style, Method, Natural Disposition, and Opinions of the Fathers, than any other. † We have learned together, (saith He, writing to Pamphilius,) that there are divers sorts of Discourse; and among the rest, that it is one thing, to write *juratus*, by way of Disputation; and another thing, to write *disputatus*, by way of Instruction. In the former of these the Disputes are free, and rambling; where, in answering an Adversary, and proposing one while one thing, and another while another, a Man argueth as he pleases; speaking one thing, and doing another; showing bread (as it is in the Proverb) and holding a stone in his hand. Whereas in the second kind, an open Forehead, and that I may so speak, Ingenuity is necessarily required. It is one thing to make Inquiries, and another to define: in the one we must fight, in the other we must teach. Thou seest me in a combat, and in peril of my life, and dost thou come with thy grave Instructions; like some Reverend Schoolmaster? Do not wound me by stealth, and from whence I least expected it. Let thy sword strike directly at me: it is a shame for thee to wound thy Enemy by guile, and not by strength: as if it were not a piece of the greatest mastery in fighting, to threaten one part, but hit another. I beseech you read *Demosthenes*, read *Tully*, and (lest perhaps you should refuse *Orationes*, whose profession it is to propose things rather

† *Hier. ep. 50. ad Pamphilius.* Simul didicimus, plura esse videlicet genera dicendi, & inter cetera aliud esse *juratus* scribere, aliud *disputatus*: In priori vagari esse dispositionem, & adversario respondentem nunc hæc, nunc illa proponere, argumentari ut liber, aliud loqui, aliud agere, panem (ut dicitur) ostendere, lapidem tenere. In sequenti autem aperta frons, & ut ita dicam, ingenuitas necessaria est. Aliud est querere, aliud defini: in altero pugnandum, in altero docendum est. Tu me tantem in prælio, & de vita periclitantem, studiosius magister doces? Non ex obliquo, & unde non putaris, vulnus inferre. Directo percutere gladio. Turpe tibi est hostem dolis ferire, non vigibus. Quasi non & hæc ars summa pugnantium sit, ut tibi minaris, tibi percutere. Legite obsecro vos *Demosthenem*, legite *Tullium*: ac ne forsitan Rhetores vobis displiceant, quorum artis est verum illa magis quam vera dicere, legite *Fatonem*, *Theophrastum*, *Xenophontem*, *Aristotelem*, & reliquos qui de *Socratico* fonte manantes divinis curis, & rivulis, quid in illis apertum, quid simplex est, quæ verba non sensum? qui sensus non videtur? Considerate quibus argumentis, & quam lubricis problematibus diaboli spiritu contexta subvertant: & quia interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiant, sed quos necesse est, dicunt adversus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles. Taceo de *Latinis* scriptoribus, *Terentium*, *Cyprianum*, *Minucium*, *Vigilantem*, *L. Gellium*, *Historios*, ne non tam me defendisses, quam alios videarac curasse.

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ther probable, th'n true; read Plato, Theophrastus, Xenophon, Aristotle, and others; who springing all from Socrates his Fountain, as so many several Rivolets ran several ways: what can you find in them, that is clear and open? what word in them but bath its Design? and what Design, but of Victory only? Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, have written largely against Cellus, and Porphyrie: do but observe what manner of Arguments, and how slippery Problems they made use of, for the subverting of those works, which had been wrought by the spirit of the Devil: and how that being sometimes forced to speak, they alledged against the Gentiles, not that which they believed, but that which was most necessary to be said. I shall not here speak anything of the Latin Writers, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius, Victorinus, Lactantius, and Hilary, lest I might seem rather to accuse others, than to defend my self. Thus S. Hierome. For, as for that which he presently addeth, touching St. Paul, whom he believeth to have practised the very same Arts, this is no proper place to examine, either the Truth, or the Use of this Opinion of his; for as much as our purpose is here to treat of the Fathers only. Now you see, that he testifieth clearly, that they were wont, in their Disputations, sometimes to say one thing, and believe another; to shew us Bread, and keep a Stone in their hand; to threaten one part, and to hit another; and that they were sometimes constrained to fit their words, not to their own proper Thoughts, but to the present Necessity. And the very same thing is confessed also by *Ashanasius*, speaking of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, as hath been said before: namely, that he wrote, not simply, and plainly, as giving us an account of his own Belief; but that he was moved, and as it were forced to speak as he did, by reason of the Occasion, and of the Person he disputed against. The like account doth S. Basil give of a certain Passage of *Gregorius Neocæsariensis*; answering for him with this distinction; That he spoke not in that place Dogmatically; but only by way of Oeconomy,

Arhan. ep. de
fid. Dion. Alex.
Tà κατ' ἐν-
νομήναι γερ-
όμενα.

Oeconomy, or Dispensation. By which Term is meant, that a Man keepeth to himself what he believeth, and pro-
poundeth some other thing, lying wide of his own opini-
on, either this way, or that way; being concerned to
to do, out of some certain particular considerations. And
as we sometimes see, that the Water ascendeth, being
forced to mount up, to fill some space, which otherwise
would remain void: (Now you will not, I hope, con-
clude from hence, that this is its natural and ordinary mo-
tion :) In like manner was it with the Fathers; who, be-
ing sometimes distressed, and hard put to it in Disputati-
on, for to avoid, as I may so speak, some certain *Vacuum*,
which they were afraid of, they sometimes left their Na-
tural Motion, and their proper sense and opinion, and took
up some other contrary one, according to the Necessity of
the present occasion. And indeed, although St. Hierome
had not given us this notice, the thing it self would evi-
dently enough have appeared, out of their Writings. For
otherwise, how could any one possibly have believed, that
they could have spoken so diversly, as they have done, in
many particulars, blowing hot and cold with one and the
same mouth? How could they possibly have delivered
so many things contrary either to Reason, or to the Scrip-
tures, or to the Fathers? For, (as the same St. Hierome

* Hier. ep. 50.
ad Pam. Quis
enim tam he-
bes, & sic in
scribendo ru-
dis est, ut i-
dem laudet &
damnet? edi-
ficata destru-
at, & destru-
ta edificet?
Hier. ep. ad
Desider. qua
est 144. Certè
adorasse ubi
steterunt pe-
des Domini,
pars fidei est.

saith) who is so very a Block-head, and so ignorant in the
Art of Writing, as that he will praise and condemnate and
the same thing; pull down what he hath built, and build
what he had pulled down? Now, the Fathers are often
observed to have done this very thing. We are there-
fore to conclude, that they have been forced to it, out of
some special Design; and that they did it, as they ought to
speak, by *Oeconomy*, or particular Dispensation, seeing that
it is evident, that the greatest part of them were very
able Men. St. Hierome by name, recommending the go-
ing in Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, went thus far, as to say
† That it was a part of our Faith, to go and worship in those
places, where the feet of our Saviour once stood, and so have
a sight

*a sight of the Doctors, which at this Day continue fresh, both of his Nativity, Cross, and Passion. Now how doth this agree with that large Discourse, which he hath made in another place, to a quite contrary sense? namely, in his Epistle to Paulinus; where at length concluding, he gives him this Reason of the length of his Discourse: * To the end (saith he) that thou mightst not think that any thing is wanting to the completing of thy Faith; because thou hast not visited Jerusalem; or, that we are any whit the better for leaving the opportunity of dwelling in this place. And here he concurs with Gregory Nyssen, who hath written a Discourse expressly against the opinion of those, + Who account it to be one of the parts of Piety, to have visited Jerusalem. Let any rational Man therefore now judge, whether or no this course must not necessarily embroil, and inwrap in a world of almost inexplicable Difficulties, the Writings of the Fathers. For, how is it possible that we should be able to judge, when they speak as they thought, and when not? Whether they mean really what they say, or whether they make but a flourish only? Whether the Bread which they shew us, be to deceive, or to feed us? Whether the Problems they propose be solid, or slippery ones? Whether their Positions be Dogmatical, or Oeconomical? Certainly, if our Court judgments were framed after this manner, we should never hope to have an end in any suit of Law. For as for that which S. Hierome saith, That an intelligent, and favourable Reader ought to judge of those things which seem hard, out of the rest of the Discourse: and not presently to accuse any Author of blockishness, for having delivered in one and the same Book, two contrary Opinions: I confess that this is very true; but yet it doth not remove the Difficulty. For how intelligent and discerning a Man soever the Reader be, it will very often be impossible for him, to make a right judgment in this particular: as for example, when those other things are wanting which S. Hierome would have a Man to make the measure of his judgment:*

Id. ep. 13. ad Paulin. Quorsum (inquires) hæc tam longo repetita principio? Videlicet ne quidquam fidei tuæ deesse putes, quia Hierosolymam non vidisti, nec nos idcirco meliores existimes quòd huius loci habitaculo fruimur.

Greg. Nyss. in Ep. ad τὸν ἀπόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, &c. οἷς ἐν μέσῃ ἀσέβειας νουθεῖται, τὸ τὸς ἐν Ἱεροσόλοις τὸς ἰδιῶν.

Hier. ep 50 ad Pam. Debuerat prudens & benignus Lector etiam ea quæ videntur dura a stimare de cæteris, & non in uno atque eodem libro criminari me diversas sententias pronuisse.

or, when one bringeth us no more of an Author, save only a bare Sentence; the Chapter, and Book where these words are, which have need to be explained, being quite out of his memory. And how many such are alledged every day, in our Disputations? What can we now do, or which way shall we turn our selves, if meeting with a Passage out of any of the Fathers, that needeth to be explained, we can find no other place in him concerning the same Point; or if there be none found, but what is as doubtful as the other; or that is not in some other Book controverted it self? Who shall regulate us, amidst such Contradictions as these? But, which is yet worse, those things which *S. Hierome* precribeth us for a Rule, and direction to our judgment, are now in these days of ours very unseasonable, as being harsh, as to the one side, and pleasing to the other; according to mens several affections, and interest; according to which they are wont to interpret, and judge of the Fathers; whereas we should rather search in them, which way we are to direct our judgments. And that favourableness which *S. Hierome* requireth in us, cannot be here of any use at all; but may possibly besides do very much hurt. For the greater the affection is that we bear to any Father; the greater care and pains will we take in vindicating his words, and interpreting them in a sense as far different as we can from what we have long since condemned, as Erroneous and Unsound; though possibly this may have been his real sense, and opinion. As for example, in those Passages before-cited, out of *S. Hierome*, and *Gregory Nyssen*, the Protestant accounteth that a very harsh piece of Doctrine, which yet his Adversary is very well pleased with: the one of them sweats, and torments himself much, in the explaining of such a Passage, as appears very easie to the other; the one takes that for Text, which the other accounts but as a Gloſs. And thus the greater affection men bear to the name, and authority of any one of the Fathers, the more do they labour and use their utmost endeavours,

to bring him over to speak to their Opinion; that is to say, in plain truth, to force him out of his own; it being impossible that we should hold both Opinions at once. We shall here therefore conclude, That how clear and express so ever the Words of the Fathers may be, yet nevertheless will it very often so fall out, as that we cannot have any assurance that we have their Sense expressed in them; whether it be in their Expositions of the Scriptures, or in their Homilies and Sermons before the People, or lastly, in their Disputations with their Adversaries, touching their Faith.

C H A P. VII.

Reason VII. That the Fathers have not always held one and the same Belief; but have sometimes changed some of their Opinions, according as their Judgment hath grown riper, through Study, or Age.

AMongst all the Ecclesiastical Writers, the Pen men of the Old and New Testament only have received the knowledge of Divine things by an extraordinary Inspiration: the rest have acquired their knowledge by the ordinary means of *Instruction, Reading, and Meditation*; in such sort, as that this Knowledge came not unto them in an instant, as it did to the others; but increased in them by degrees, ripening and growing up by little and little, in proportion as they grew in years: whence it is, that their Writings are not all of them of the same weight, nor of the same Value. For, who seeth not, that what they, as it were, sportingly wrote in their younger years, is of much less consideration than those other Pieces which they wrote in their riper age? Who, for instance, would equal the Authority of that Epistle of *S. Hierome to Heliodorus*, written by him when he had

*Hier. Ep. 1. ad
Heliodor. vid.
Ep. 2. ad Nepot.*

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but newly left the Rhetorick Schools, being yet a Child, and full of that innocent and inconsiderate Heat which usually attendeth those years, to that of those other graver Pieces, which he afterwards sent abroad into the Church, when he had now arrived to his full strength, and ripeness of Wit, and to the perfection of his Studies? *S. Augustine* hath left us a remarkable Testimony, that the Fathers profited by Age and Study in the Knowledge of the Truth, when as in his old age, taking Pen in hand, he reviewed and corrected all that he had ever written during his whole Life; faithfully and ingenuously noting whatsoever he thought worthy of reprehension, and giving us all those his Animadversions collected together in the Books of his *Retractions*; which, in my judgment, is the most glorious and most excellent of all those many Monuments which he hath left to Posterity; whether you consider here the Learning, or the Modesty and Sincerity of the Man. *S. Hierome* reporteth, that *Origen* also, long before, had in his old age written an Epistle to *Fabianus* Bishop of Rome, wherein he confesseth, That he repented him of many things which he had taught and written. Neither is there any doubt, but that some such like thing may have hapned to most of the other Fathers; and that they may have sometime disallowed of that which they had formerly believed, as true. Now from this consideration there falls in our way a new Difficulty, which we are to grapple with, in this our Inquiry into the true, genuine sense of the Fathers, touching our present Controversies. For, seeing that the Condition and Nature of their Writings is such, it is most evident, that when we would make use of any of their Opinions, it will concern us to be very well assured, that they have not only sometime either held or written the same; but that they have moreover persevered in them to the end. Whence *Vincentius Lirinensis*, in that Passage of his which is so often urged, for the making use of the Ancient Authors in deciding our present Controversies, thinks it not fit that we should

Hier. ep. 65. de Erroribus Originis. Ipse Origenes in Epistola quam scribit ad Fabianum, Romanæ urbis Episcopum, pœnitentiam agit cur talia scripserit, &c.

Vincent. Lirinens. lib. adv. prof. Novit. seu Common.

be bound to receive whatsoever they have said, for certain and undoubted Truth, unless they have assured and confirmed it unto us by their Perseverance in the same, as he there speaketh. Cardinal *Perron* also evidently sheweth us the same way, by his own practice: for, disputing about the Canon of the Holy Scriptures (which he pretendeth to have been always the very same in the Western Church, with that which is delivered unto us by the III Council of *Carthage*, where the *Maccabees* are reckoned in among the rest;) and finding himself hardly pressed by some certain Passages alledged by the *Protestants* out of *S. Hierome* to the contrary, he answereth the Objection, by saying, among other things, That this Father, when he wrote the said Passages, was not yet come to the ripeness of his Judgment, and perfection of his Studies; whereas afterwards, when he was now more fully instructed in the truth of the Sense of the Church, he changed his Opinion, and retracted (as this Cardinal saith) both in general, and in particular, whatsoever he had before written in those three Prologues, where he had excluded the *Maccabees* out of the Canon. And so likewise, to another Objection brought to the same purpose, out of the Commentaries of *S. Gregory the Great*, he gives the like answer, saying, That *S. Gregory*, when he wrote that Piece, was not yet come to be Pope, but was a plain *Deacon* only, being at that time employed at *Constantinople*, as the Popes *Nuncio* to the *Greeks*. Now these Answers of his are either insufficient; or else, it will necessarily follow from hence, That we ought not to rest certainly satisfied in the Testimony of any Father, except we first be assured, that not only he never afterwards retracted that Opinion of his; but that, besides, he wrote it in the strength and ripeness of his Judgment. And see now how we are fallen into a new Labyrinth: For, first of all, from whence, and by what means may we be able to come truly and certainly to the knowledge of this Secret; when as we can hardly meet with any light Conjectures, tending to the making of this Disco-

Perron's Repl.
l. i. c. 50.

Id. ibid.

very, namely, Whether a Father hath in his old age changed his Opinion, touching that Point for which it is produced against us, or not? If they had all of them been either able, or willing to have imitated the Modesty of *S. Augustine*, we should then have had little left to trouble us. But you will hardly find any, either of the Ancients, or of those of Later times, that have followed this example; unless it be Cardinal *Bellarmino*, who hath lately thought good to revive this Piece of Modesty, which had lain dead and buried for the space of so many Ages together, by writing a Book of *Retractions*: which Book of his is very diversly received by the Learned, as well of the one, as of the other Religion. But yet, if you will stand stiff upon it, with Cardinal *Ferron*, and not allow the saying of a Father to be of any value, unless it were written by him after the Ripeness of his Studies; I shall then despair of our ever making any Progress, so much as one step forward, by this means, in the business in hand. For, (will the one and the other Party say, upon every Testimony that shall be produced against them) how do we know whether this Father had yet arrived to the Ripeness of his Judgment, when he wrote this Book, or not? Who can tell whether or no those days of his Life that he enjoyed after the Writing hereof, might not have bestowed as well clearness on his Understanding, as Whiteness on his Head; and have changed his Judgment, as well as his Hair? We suppose here, that no such thing appeareth in any of his other Writings. How many Authors are there who have changed their Opinions, and yet have not retracted what they had formerly written? But suppose now, that we should have lost that particular Tract wherein the Author had given Testimony of the changing of his Opinion; what should we do in this case? If Time should have deprived us of *S. Augustine's Retractions*, and some other of his later Writings, as it hath of an infinite number of other Pieces, both of his, and other of the

the Fathers, which would have been of as great importance to us; we must certainly have thought; that he had believed, that the Cause of Predestination is the Prescience or Foreseeing of the Faith of Men, reading but what he saith in one of the Books which he first wrote, namely, *That God hath not elected the Works of any Man,* according to his Prescience; seeing that it is He himself that gives the Sum to a Man: But, that he hath elected his Faith by His Prescience; that is, He hath elected those who He foresaw would believe his Words; that is to say, He made choice of them to bestow His Holy Spirit upon, that so by doing Good Works they might attain everlasting Life. Now would the Pelagians and Semipelagians have brought this Passage as an infallible Argument; that S. Augustine was of their Opinion; but that his Retractions, and his other Books which were written afterwards, in his later time, clearly make it appear, that this Argument is of no force at all; forasmuch as this Learned Father, having afterwards better considered of this Point, wholly altered his Opinion: *I had not* (saith he) *as yet diligently enough inquired into, nor found out, what the Election of Grace was, whereof the Apostle speaketh in these words;* There is a Remnant (to be saved) according to the Election of Grace: which certainly is not Grace, if any Merits preceded it; so that that which is given, should be rendered rather as due to the Merits, than as given freely by Grace. Now who knoweth, but that among those Fathers whom we so confidently alledge every day, some of them may have retracted those things which we at this day read in their Works; and that Time may have devoured their Retractions of those their Opinions, and may have left us only their Errors? Besides, who knows, and can truly inform us, what Date their Writings bear? Whether they were the Fruits of their Spring, or of their Summer, or of their Autumn? Whether they were gathered green, or were suffered to ripen upon the

*August. Expo-
sit. quar. prop.
ex Ep. Rom.
proposit. 60.
Non ergo ele-
git Deus ope-
ra cuiusquam
in præsentiâ,
quæ ipse datu-
rus est: sed si-
dem elegit,
&c.*

*Id. Retract.
lib. 1. cap. 23.
Nondum dili-
gentius quasi-
veram, nec ad-
huc invene-
ram, qualis sit
Electio Gra-
tiæ, de qua
idem dicit A-
postolus, Re-
liquiæ, &c.*

Tree? Doubtless this whole Inquiry is very dark; there being scarcely any mark of their Season to be found upon the greatest part of them. There are indeed some few of them, that have some of these Marks; but yet they are so doubtful and uncertain ones, as that the most able and choicest Wits are sometimes deceived in this their Inquiry. And when all is done, who knoweth not, that there are some Trees that bear their Summer-fruit even in the very beginning of the Summer, when as the Spring-time is yet hardly past? And again, the Fruits which are gathered at the end of the Later Season, are not always the ripest: for Time, in stead of ripening, many times rotteth them. In like manner is it also with Men, and consequently with the Fathers. Sometimes their Summer yieldeth much more, and better Fruit than their Autumn. For, as for the Winter, that is to say, the last part of our Age, it is evident that it usually brings forth nothing at all; or if it do chance to force it self beyond Nature, the Fruits it bringeth forth are yet worse, and more crude and imperfect, than those even of the Spring. Seeing therefore it is for the most part impossible to give any certain judgment of these things, either by the History of these Authors, or by their Books themselves; and that again on the other side, without this we ought not to sit down upon any thing we find in their Writings, as reckoning we have made a discovery what their Opinions have been: we may safely conclude in this Point also, as we have done in the former, That it is a very hard matter to know truly and precisely what the Opinions and Sense of the Ancients have been, touching the Differences at this day debated amongst us.

C H A P. VIII.

Reason VIII. *That it is Necessary, and withal very hard, to discover how the Fathers have held all their several Opinions; Whether as Necessary, or as Probable onely; and in what degree of Necessity, or Probability.*

Logick teacheth us, That True Propositions are not all equally so; some of them being but *Contingent* only, as the Schools speak; and others being *Necessary*: and again, both the one and the other being more or less either *Contingent* or *Necessary*, according to that admirable Division which the Philosopher hath made, into those *Three Degrees of Necessity*, explained by him in the First Book of his *Demonstrations*. And hence it comes to pass, that the Knowledge or Ignorance of these Degrees is the more or less important, in those Sciences whereunto they appertain; there being some of them, as namely, those which they call *Principles*, that are so Necessary, as that a Man cannot be ignorant of them, without overthrowing the whole Science wherein they ought to have place: and there being others again, on the contrary side, that a Man may be ignorant of, so far, as to hold their *Contradictories* for true, and yet nevertheless not run any great hazard. As for example, These here following are Philosophical *Principles* of the first sort; namely, *That there is Motion*; and, *That every Body occupieth some certain Place*, and the like. For, I beseech you, what strange Philosophy would it be, that should either be ignorant of, or should deny these *Principles*? But these other following are of the second sort; namely, *That there are precisely but Five Senses in Living Creatures*; and, *That the*

Arist. Poster. Analyt. 2^a πρῶτος, καθ' αὐτὸ, καθόλου, πρῶτον.

Heavens

Heavens are not of an Elementary Substance, and the like. For, although these Propositions are by most held to be True, yet notwithstanding are they not so Necessary, but that a Man may pass for a Philosopher, and yet not only be ignorant of these Positions; but may also, if he please, maintain even those things that are contradictory to them. Now if there be any Science where this Consideration ought carefully to be applied, it is, in my judgment, in this of *Divinity*. For, there is very much difference betwixt the Truths whereof it consisteth; some of them being evidently more Necessary than others, as *Origen* proveth plainly, in his XXVII Homily upon *S. Matthew*. Do but compare these two Propositions together, *Christ is God*; and, *Christ suffered death, being of the age of thirty four or thirty five years*: who seeth not, that though both these Propositions are true, yet notwithstanding there is a very vast difference betwixt them. For, the former of these is Necessarily True; that is to say, it is True in such sort, as that it is Impossible but that *Christ* should be God; the Salvation of Mankind, which is the End of our Religion, being otherwise not possibly to be obtained: But as for the second, notwithstanding that it is true, and is collected clearly enough out of the Scriptures, yet is it not at all Necessary. For, *Christ* might, if he had so pleased, have suffered at the Fortieth or Fiftieth year of his age, without any prejudice at all to our Salvation, which was the End of His Suffering. Now according to this diversity of Degrees, the Belief or Ignorance of these two Propositions are also of very different importance. The first of them we may not be ignorant of, and much less deny, without renouncing *Christianity*. The second we may be ignorant of, and even deny too, as supposing it false, yet without any great danger. To be able therefore to come to a clear and perfect understanding, what was the Sense of the Fathers touching the Points of Religion at this day controverted amongst Us, it is necessary that we should know,

not

not only whether they believed, or not believed them ; but also, how they believed, or not believed them : that is to say, whether they held them as Propositions Necessarily, or Probably, either True, or False ; and besides, in what Degree either of Necessity, or Probability they placed them. Now that this Inquiry is very Necessary, Cardinal Perron hath clearly demonstrated in that Learned Epistle of his, written to *Casaubon*, against *K. James*. For, the King attributing to himself the name of *Catholic*, under pretence that He believed, and held all those things, that the Fathers of the four or five first Centuries did ; the Cardinal denies his Sequel, replying, among other things, that to be of the Communion of the Ancients, a Man ought not only to believe what they believed, but also to believe it in the same manner, and in the same Degree, that they did : that is to say, to believe as Necessary to Salvation, what they believed as Necessary to Salvation ; and to believe as profitable to Salvation, what they held for such ; and for lawful, and not repugnant to Salvation, what they held for lawful, and not repugnant to Salvation. And thus he goes on, and gives us a long and exact Division of the different Degrees of Necessity, which may, and ought to be considered, in all Propositions touching Religion. I could heartily wish that this Occasion had carried on this Learned Prelate so far, as to have made an Exact Application of this Doctrine, and to have truly enformed us, of what the greatest part of the World is at this day Ignorant ; namely, in what Degree each Point of the Christian Faith is held, either by the Church of *Rome*, or by the Ancient Fathers ; & what things are absolutely Necessary in Religion ; and what are those other things, that are necessary under some certain Conditions only : which again are necessary by the necessity of the Means ; and which, by the necessity of the Precept ; (as he there speaks :) that is to say, which are those things, that we ought to observe, either by reason of their Profit, as being Means which are profitable to Salvation : and which we are to observe, by reason of the Commandment only,

being enjoined us by such an Authority, as we owe Obedience to: and after all these Points, which again All, and every of the Faithful are bound to believe: *Expressly*; and, which are those, that it is sufficient to believe in *groſſe* only, and by an *Implicit Faith*: and Lastly, which are those things that we ought actually to do, and, which are those, that it is sufficient if we approve of them only, though we do them not. So that it appeareth clearly out of these Words of his, that to be able to know, what the Belief of the Fathers hath been, especially in the Points now in debate, we ought first to be assured, in what degree they believed the same. And that this distinction was of very great Consideration with the antient Church, it appears sufficiently out of the special regard which it always had unto it; opening to, or shutting the door against men, first of all, according to the things which they believed, or not believed: Secondly, according to the different manners, how they believed, or not believed them. For it Excommunicated those who rejected those things that it held as *Necessary*; and so likewise, those, who pressed as things *Necessary*, such as it held for things *probable* only. But it received, with all the sweetness that might be, all those, who either were Ignorant of, or doubted of, or indeed denied those things which it accounted though *True*, yet not *Necessarily* so. This appeareth clearly, out of an Epistle written by *Irenæus* to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, set down by *Eusebius*, in his Ecclesiastical History: where this holy Man testifieth, that although there had been before *Victors* time, the same difference betwixt the *Asian* and the *Roman* Church, touching the celebration of *Easter-day*; yet notwithstanding they lived in peace, and mutual amity together; neither were any of the *Asian* Bishops ever excommunicated at *Rome*, for their dissenting from them, either in this, or in any other Point: but that rather on the contrary, *Poly-carpus*, coming to *Rome*, in the time of Pope *Anicetus*, after they had had a Conference touching the differences

*Hiſt. Eccleſ.
Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 24. Cod.
Græc cap. 26.*

betwixt

betwixt them; and each of them continued still firm in his former opinion; yet notwithstanding did they not forbear to hold fair correspondence with each other, and to communicate together; *Anicetus* also, out of the respect he bare to *Polycarpus*, allowing him the use of his own Church, to celebrate the Eucharist in. *Tertullian* in his Book, † *De Prescriptionibus adversus Hereticos*, requires only that the Rule of Faith (as he calls it) should continue in its proper Form, and Order; allowing every Man in all other particulars, to make what Inquiries and Discourses he please, and to exercise his Curiosity to the height of Liberty: which is an evident Argument, that He admitted into His Communion all those who not contradicting the Rule of Faith, broached any other opinions; if so be they held them but as Probable only; and proposed not any thing which was contrary to the Rule of Faith. The Author of the * *Apology of Origen* published by *Ruffinus*, under the name of *Pamphilus*, was of the same opinion also. For, having confessed, that *Origen*, if not held, yet published some certain very strange opinions, touching the State of the Soul before the Birth of Man, and concerning the Nature of the Stars; he will maintain, that these opinions do not presently make a Man an Heretic; and that even among the Doctors of the Church there was diversity of opinion touching the same. But besides all this, it is evident that this difference of Judgment is even at this day, to be found in the Church of Rome: where you shall find the *Jacobins* and the *Franciscans* maintaining opinions utterly contradictory to each other, touching the Conception of the Virgin Mary; the one of them maintaining that she was conceived without sin; whereas the other utterly deny it. And, that which makes me wonder the more, is, that they suffer such Contradictory opinions as these to be held amongst them, in such particulars, as considered barely in themselves, seem yet to be of very great Importance. As for Example, a Man may either believe that we ought to

† *Tertul. de Prescript. advers. Heret. c. 4.* Ceterum manente forma ejus in suo ordine, quantumlibet quaras, & tractes, & omnem libidinem curiositatis effundas, &c. *Vid. l. de Virg. vel l. 1.*

* *Apol. Orig. inter opera Origen.*

yield to the Cross the Adoration of *Latria*; or, if he please, he may believe the contrary; without losing, either by reason of the one, or the other, the Communion of the Church, and Salvation. And yet notwithstanding if you but consider the thing in it self, it will appear to be a matter of no such Indifferency as people take it for. For, if the Former of these Opinions be indeed True; then must those that are of the other Opinion, needs sin very grievously, in not worshipping a Subject, that is so worthy of Adoration. But if it be False, then are those Men that maintain the same, guilty of a much greater sin, by committing so horrible Idolatry. What Point is there in Religion, that seemeth to be of greater Importance than that; touching the Foundation, and Head of all Ecclesiastical Power, upon the Authority whereof the whole Faith, and State of the Church turneth? And yet, touching this Particular also, which is of so great consequence, do they suffer Men to maintain Contradictory Opinions; some attributing this Dignity to the *Pope*; and others, to a *General Council*. Now if the opinion of the First of these be true, then is the Faith of the Later built upon a very Erroneous Ground: but if the opinion of the Later be true, than doth the Faith of the Former depend upon a Cause, which is not Infallible; and consequently is Null. Now these Different opinions are reconciled, by saying, that the Church accounting neither of these Beliefs as *necessary* to Faith; a Man is not presently an Heretick, for holding the False opinion of the two; nor yet is he to be counted Orthodox, meerly for holding the True one. Seeing therefore that this Particular concerns the Communion of the Church, and our Salvation also, which dependeth thereon; it will behove us to know certainly, in what Degree the Ancients placed those Articles, which are at this day so eagerly pressed upon the Protestants; and whether they held them in the same, or

Ferron. Repl.
L. 4. in Prefat.

in a Higher, or else in a Lower Degree of *Necessity*, than they are now maintained by the Church of *Rome*. For, unless this be made very clear, the Protestants, though they should confess, (which yet they do not,) that the Fathers did indeed really believe the same; might yet alledge for themselves, that notwithstanding all this, they are not bound to believe the same; for as much as all opinions in Religion are not presently Obligatory, and such as all Men are bound to believe; seeing that there are some that are indeed *necessary*, but some others that are not so. They will answer likewise, that these opinions are like to those at this day controverted, betwixt the *Dominicans*; and the *Franciscans*; or to those other Points, debated betwixt the *Sorbonists* and the *Regulars*: wherein every one is permitted to hold what he pleaseth. They will urge for themselves the Determination of the Council of *Trident*, which in expresse terms distinguisheth betwixt the opinions of the Fathers; where having thundered out an *Anathema*, against all those that should maintain, that the Administring of the Eucharist was necessary for little Infants, they further declare, that this Thunderbolt extended not to those Antient Fathers, who gave the Communion to little Infants; for as much as they maintained, and practised this, being moved thereunto upon *Probable Reasons* only, and not accounting it *necessary* to Salvation. Seeing therefore that some Errors, which have been condemned by Councils, may be maintained in such a certain Degree, without incurring thereby the danger of their Thunderbolts: by the same reason a Man may be ignorant of, and even deny some Truths also, without running the hazard of being Anathematized. Who can assure us, (may the Protestants further add) that the Articles which we reject, are not of this kind? and such, as that though perhaps they may be true, it is nevertheless lawful for us not to believe. My opinion therefore is, that there is no Man now that seeth not, that it concerns the Doctors of the *Roman Church*, if they mean to convince their Adversaries out
of

*Donc. Trident.
Sess. 21. cap. 9.
xxv. & Can. 4.*

of the Fathers first to make it appear unto them, that the Antients held the said Points, not only as True, but as Necessary also, and in the very same Degree of Necessity that they now hold them. Now this must needs prove a business of most extreme Difficulty, and much greater here, than in any of the other particulars before proposed. And I shall alledge no other Argument for the proof of this, than that very Decree we cited before, where the Council of Trent hath declared, that the Fathers did not

Concil. Trident. Sess. 21. c. 4.

Uc enim sanctissimi illi Patres sui facti probabilem causam pro illius temporaria ratione habuerunt; ita certe eos nullā salutis necessitate id fecisse, sine controversia tenendum est.

† Aug. 1. de peccat. Mer. & remiss. Ex antiqua, ut existimo, & Apostolica Traditione Ecclesie Christi institutum tenent, præter Baptismum & participationem Dominicæ mensæ, non solum ad Regnum Dei, sed nec ad salutem, & vitam æternam posse quengquam hominum pervenire. Hoc enim & Scriptura testatur, &c. Ibid. Pauli pōt. Si ergo, ut tot & tanta divina testimonia concinunt, nec salus, nec vita æterna sine Baptismo, & corpore & sanguine Domini cum quam speculanda est; frustra sine his promittitur parvulis.

Administer the Communion to Infants, out of any opinion that it was necessary to Salvation; but did it upon some other probable Reason only. For, we have not only very good reason to doubt, whether the Fathers held this opinion, and followed this practice, as probable only; but it seemeth besides (with all Reverence to that Council be it spoken,) to appear evidently enough out of their Writings, that they did hold it as Necessary. For, do but hear the Fathers themselves; and St. Augustine in the first place; who saith, † That the Churches of Christ hold, by an Antient, and as I conceive (saith he) an Apostolical Tradition, that without Baptism, and the Communicating of the Lords Table, no Man can come either into the Kingdom of God, or unto Salvation, or Eternal Life. And afterwards having, as he conceives, proved this out of the Scriptures, he addeth further: Seeing, therefore, that no Man can hope either for Eternal Life, or Salvation, without Baptism, and the Body and Blood of Christ, (thus doth he call the Sacrament of the Eucharist, according to the

language of his Times) as hath been proved by so many Divine Testimonies; in vain is it promised to Infants, without the participating of these. And some three Chapters before, treating of those words of our Saviour in St. John, Except

Except you eat my Flesh and drink my Blood, you can have no Life in you: in which words he understandeth; both there and elsewhere, of the Communicating of the Eucharist; he makes a long Discourse to prove, that they extend as well to little Infants, as to people of ripe Age.

Takers any man faith he, that durst as
firm, that this speech belongeth not to liars
In our affay or, that they may have therein
them, without participating of this Body,
and of this Blood? And this is his constant
manner of speaking, in eight or ten other

manner of speaking, in eight or ten other Passages in his * Works, which are too long to be here inserted. Pope *Innocent I.* his Contemporany, speaketh also after the same manner: proving against the *Pelagians*, that Baptism is Necessary for Infants, to render them capable of Eternal Life: for as much as, without Baptism they cannot Communicate of the Eucharist, which is necessary to Salvation. * *S. Cyprian* also, long before them, spake to the very same sense: and this † *Maldo-*
nate affirmeth, to have been the opinion of the six first Centuries. These things considered, we must needs think one of these two things following; namely, that either the Council of *Trent*, by its Declaration, hath made that, which hath been, to be as if it never had been: which is a Power, that the Poet * *Agatha* in *Aristotle* would not allow, to God himself, nor else, that the Fathers of this Council, either out of forgetfulness, or otherwise, mistook themselves in this account of theirs, touching the opinion of the Ancient Church in this particular: which, in my judgment, is the more favourable, and the more proba-

† 74. *Ibid.* c. 20. An verò quicquam etiam hoc dicere audebit, quod ad parvulos hæc sententia non pertineat; possintq; sine participatione corporis huius & sanguinis in se habere vitam *etc.*

* Id. T. 2. ep. 106. ep. 107. ep.
pöfter. in: Mar. 1. 2. contr. Pel. &
Geleſt. t. 18. l. 1. contr. 2. ep. Pe-
lag. ad Bon. cap. 22. & l. 4. c. 4.
l. 1. contr. Jul. & l. 3. c. 1. &
c. 12. lib. de Prædeſt. Sancti. ad
Proſp. c. 12. Hypomn. l. 5. & 6.
Tract. 120. in J. b. Sermon. 32. de
verb. Ap.

† *Inno. in ep. ad Milevit synod.*
qua est inter ep. Aug. 15. Illud
 verbum quod est vestra fraterni-
 tas affert predicare, parvulos
 aeternae vitae praemii, etiam sine
 baptismatis gratia posse donari,
 perfatum est. Nisi enim man-
 ducaverint carnem filii homi-
 nis, & biberint sanguinem ejus,
 non habebunt vitam aeternam
 in semetipsis. *Vid. Aug. l. 2. contr.*
2. ap. Pelag. c. 4. & lib. 1. contr.
*Jul. c. 2. * Cyrian lib. 2 Test ad*
Qui. c. 25. † Maldon in Joan. c. 6.
num. 1. 6. M. facio Aug. Sini,
& Innoentius 1. sententiam, quae
sexcentos circiter annos viguit
in Ecclesia, Eucharistiam etiam
Infantibus necessariam.

* Agathē apud Aristot. Eth. ad Nicom. I. 7. c. 2. Μόνη δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἑαυτῇ στέλκεται, Ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ποσὶν ὅσ' αὐτῇ τέρειται.

ble Conceit of the two: and if so, I shall then desire no more. For, if these great Personages, who were chosen with so much Care, and Circumspection, out of all parts of Christendom, and sent to *Trent*, to deliberate upon, and determine a Business of the greatest Importance in the World; and were directed by the Legats of so exquisite a Wisdom; and digested their Decrees with a judgment so Ripe, and slow-paced, as that there is scarcely any one word in them, but hath its Design; if after all this, I say, these Men should be found to have erred in this their Inquiry, in affirming, that the Fathers held only as *Probable*, that which they evidently appear to have held as *Necessary*: If Pope *Pius VI.* with his whole Consistory, consisting of so many Eminent, and Wise Men, hath approved and confirmed this Mistake of theirs, not perceiving it at all: what can we, or indeed what ought we to expect from any other hands, whose soever they be, as touching the Points now controverted betwixt us; in comparison of which, a Man may very well say, that all the Difficulty, that this Matter now spoken of yieldeth, is nothing at all, wherein notwithstanding this whole Council mistook it self? Where shall we find a Man, that after this their Failing, can have the courage to adventure upon so Difficult, and so Intricate an undertaking? Who can promise himself success there, where so Great a Council hath failed? The very hope of effecting so weighty a Matter can hardly be excused from the guilt of High Presumption. For, first of all, the Fathers tell us very seldom, in what Degree either of *Necessity*, or *Probability*, they held their Opinions: and even when they do tell us, their Expressions being such, as we have observed of them, we ought not presently to conclude any thing from them, without first examining them thoroughly. For, many times, when they would recommend unto us such things, as they accounted *profitable* for us; they would speak of them, as if they had been *Necessary*: and so again, to take off our Belief of, and to divert our affections

ctions from such things as they conceived either to be simply false, or otherwise unprofitable for us; they represented them as the most detestable and pernicious things that could be. *Whosoever fasteth upon the Lords day, or upon any Saturday, except that one Saturday, (he meaneth Easter-Eve.) be a murderer of Christ*, said S. Ignatius. Who would not think, hearing these so Tragical Expressions of his; that certainly he was speaking of the very Foundation of the whole Christian Religion? And yet the Business he there speaks of, was only the Observation of a certain part of a Positive Law, and which yet (as most are of opinion) was at that time received but by a part onely of the Church; the belief and observation whereof was so far from being reckoned among those things that were Necessary, that it was scarcely placed in the first Degree of *Probability*; and is now at length utterly abolished too. This manner of Discour-
 sing is very frequently used by *Tertullian*, S. *Ambrose*, and especially by S. *Hierome*; who are all so eager for the Side which they take to, that you would think, in reading them, that all those whom they commend, were very Angels; and all those other, whom they speak against, arrant Devils: that whatsoever they maintain, are the very Foundations and Ground-work of the Christian Religion; and whatsoever they refute, is meer Atheism, and the highest Impiety that may be. Certainly S. *Hierome*, writing to a certain *Roman* Matron, named *Furia*, who was a Widow, and dissuading her from marrying again, discourseth of this Matter in the very same manner as he would have done in dissuading her from the committing of Murther. And here are we to call to mind again the divers Reasons of the obscurity of the Fathers, and particularly that of their Rhetorick, all which have place in this Particular, rather than in any other. So that there seemeth to be but one onely Certain way left us to discover in what degree they placed the Propositions of Christian Doctrine, namely, their *Creds*, and Expositi-

Ignat. ep. 4. ad Phil. "Εἰ τις Κυριακῷ, ἢ σαββάτῳ νηστεύῃ, πάλω ἐνδὲς αὐτοῦ, ἔσθ' ὁ χριστὸν κτείνῃ."

Hieron. ep. 10. ad Furiam. Tom. 1.

ons of their Faith, whether they were General or Particular ones; and the Determinations of their Councils and Ecclesiastical Assemblies. For we may very well believe, that they held as necessary all such Points, as they made profession of in such a manner, Anathematizing all such as should deny the same. And by this Rule we may indeed assure our selves, that they held, as Necessary, the greatest part of all those Points wherein we at this day agree among our selves. And some of these we have formerly set down in our Preface; for they are most of them either delivered expressly in their Creeds, or else positively determined in their Councils; and the Contradictors of them, there expressly condemned. But yet this Rule will scarcely be of any use at all to us, in the Decision of our present Controversies: For, some of them appear not at all, neither in that Rule of Faith so often mentioned by *Tertullian*, nor in the *Nicen Creed*, nor in that of *Constantinople*, nor in the Determinations of the Council of *Ephesus*, nor yet in those of *Chalcedon*. The first of these Councils Anathematized *Arius*; the second, *Macedonius*; the third, *Nestorius*; and the fourth, *Eutyches*: and yet nevertheless are the several Tenets of these very Men at this day received, and maintained by one Side or other. Nay, which is more, the aforesaid Articles do not at all appear neither in the two following Councils; namely, the second Council of *Constantinople*, which condemned certain Writings of *Ibidorus*, *Theodoretus*, and *Ibas*, as we have touched before; nor yet in the III Council of *Constantinople*, which Anathematized the *Monothelites*, and was held about the year of our Lord *DCLXXXI*. And yet have these Six first Councils (if you will believe the

Fathers of the VII) established and confirmed all those things which had been taught in the Catholic Church, down from the Primitive Times, whether

Synod. 7. Añ. 6. Refut. Synod. Iconocl. Παρὰ τὰ παροδόντα ἐν τῇ κατὰ δόξαν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις, καὶ ἀγίοις, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἑκκλησίας, αὐταί. (See Synodi Documenta) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας.

by

by Writing, or by Unwritten Tradition. So that it will hence follow, that these Points, which appear not here in the said Six first Councils at all, were not delivered from the beginning, neither in Writing, nor otherwise. Only about the Eighth Century, and so for a good while afterward, we find mention of one of those Points now controverted among us, namely, that touching Images; which was diversly and contrarily determined in the Councils of *Constantinople*, of *Nicea*, and of *Frankfort*: the Second of these Councils enjoining the Use and Adoration of Images; whereas the First had utterly forbid it; and the last of these Councils taking off, and correcting, as it were, the Excesses of the other Two. What can you say to this, that neither in the Writings of Particular Men, which yet are usually more copious, and fuller, than the Determinations of Councils are, there is so much as any mention made of the said Points? *Epiphanius*, in the Conclusion of his *Treatise of Heresies*, gives us two Discourses; in the one whereof he setteth down the Order, Customs, and Discipline of the Church in his time: wherein I must needs say, that there are very many things which much differ from the Customs that are at this day observed by us, both of the one side, and of the other. In the other is contained an Expolition of the Faith of the Church, set down at large, which he calleth, * *The Pillar of the Truth, the Hope and Assurance of Immortality*. And yet of all those Controversies which are at this day debated amongst us, you shall there meet with onely one which is touching the Local Descent of our Saviour Christ into Hell: which yet is an Article of very small importance, as every one knows. In the Acts of the Sixth Council we have a Synodical Epistle of *Sophronius*, Patriarch of *Jernsalem*; wherein, as the usual Custom was, he explaineth the Faith, in a very large and particular manner: and yet notwithstanding, you shall not there meet with any of those Points which are now controverted amongst us. Those that shall

Epiphanius in Panar. l. 3. & in Anacephal.

* *Id ibid Tō to τὸ ὑπόσταμα τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ ἐλπίς ἐστὶν βασιλείας τῆς ἀθανάτου.*

Council VI. Act. II.

search more narrowly into the Business, will be apt positively to conclude from this their silence, that these Points were not at that time any part of the Belief of the Church: and certainly this their way of Argumentation seems not to want Reason. But as for my own particular, it is sufficient for me, that it confirmeth the Truth of my Assertion, which is, That it is, if not an impossible, yet at least a very hard thing, to discover in what degree either of *Necessity*, or *Probability*, the Ancient Fathers held each of those Points which are now debated amongst us; seeing that they appear not at all, neither in the Expositions of their Faith, nor yet in the Determinations of their Councils; which are as it were the Catalogues of those Points which they accounted *Necessary*.

C H A P. IX.

Reason IX. We ought to know what hath been the Opinion, not of one, or more of the Fathers, but of the whole Ancient Church; which is a very hard matter to be found out.

THose who make most account of the Writings of the Fathers, and who urge them the oftneft in their Disputations, do inform us, That the weight of their Sayings in these Matters proceeds from hence, that they are as to many Testimonies of the General Sense and Judgment of the Church; to which alone these men attribute the Supreme Power of Judging in Controversies of Religion. For, if we should consider them severally, each by himself, and as they stand by their own strength onely, they confess, that they may chance to erre. So that it will follow hence, That to the end we may make use of the Testimonies of the Fathers, it is not sufficient for us to know

know whether such or such Sayings be truly theirs; and, if so, what the meaning of them is: but we ought further also to be very well assured, that they are conformable to the Belief of the Church in their time: in like manner as in a Court of Judicature, the Opinion of any single Person of the Bench is of no weight at all, as to the passing of Judgment; unless it be conformable to the Opinion of all the rest, or at least of the Major Part of the Company. And now see how we are fallen again into new Difficulties. For, whence, and by what means may we learn, whether the whole Church, in the time of *Justin Martyr*, or of *S. Augustine*, or of *S. Hierome*, maintained the same Opinions in every particular, that these Men severally did, or not? I confess, that the Charity of these Men was very great; and that they very heartily and constantly embraced the Body and Substance of the Belief of the Church, in all Particulars that they saw apparently to be such. But, where the Church did not at all deliver it self, and expressly declare what its Sense was; they could not possibly, how great soever their desire of so doing might have been, follow its Authority, as the Rule of their Opinions. Wheresoever therefore they treat of Points which were long since decided, believed, and received, expressly, and positively, by the whole Christian Church, either of their own Age, or of any of the preceding Ages; it is very probable that they did conform to what was believed by the Church; so that, in these Cases, their Saying may very well pass for a Testimony of the Judgment and Sense of the Church; it being very improbable, that they could be either ignorant what was the Publick Doctrine of the Church; or that knowing the same, they would not follow it. As for example, when *Athanasius*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Hierome*, *S. Augustine*, and others, discourse touching the Son of God, they speak nothing but what is conformable to the Belief of the Church in General; because that the Belief of the Church had then been clearly and expressly delivered upon this

Point:

Point: so that whatsoever they say, as to this Particular, may safely be received, as a Testimony of the Churches Belief. And the like may be done in all the other Points, which have either been positively determined in any of the General Councils, or delivered in any of the *Credes*, or that any other way appeareth to have been the publick Belief of the Church. If the Fathers had but contained themselves within these Bounds, and had not taken liberty to treat of any thing, save what the Church had clearly delivered its Judgment upon; this Rule might then have been received as a General one; and, what opinion soever we found in them, we might safely have concluded it to have been the Sense of the Church, that was in their time. But the curiosities of Mans Nature, together with the Impudence of the Hereticks, and the Tenderness of Conscience, whether of their own or of others, and divers other Reasons perhaps, having partly made them willingly, and partly forced, and as it were constrained them to go on further, and to proceed to the search of the Truth of several Points, which had not as yet been established by the universal and publick Consent of all Christians, it could not be avoided, but that necessarily they must in these Inquiries make use of their own proper Light, and must deliver upon the same their own private Opinions; which the Church, which came after them, hath since either embraced, or rejected. I shall not here stand to prove this my Assertion, since it is a thing that is confessed on all hands, and whereof the *Romanists* make special use upon all occasions, in answering several Objections brought against them, out of the Fathers. As, for example, where Cardinal *Bellarmino* excuseth the Error of Pope *John XXII*, touching the state of the *Departed Souls*, before the Resurrection, by saying, that the Church in his time had not as yet determined any thing touching this Particular. And so likewise, where he applies the same Plaster to that (in his Judgment) so unsound Opinion of Pope *Nicolas I*, who maintained, That

Bellarmino. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 14. Sed. Responsio in primis, &c.

Form 9

Baptism

Baptism administered in the Name of *Jesus Christ* onely, without expressing the other Persons of the Holy Trinity, was notwithstanding valid and effectual. * *This is a Point* (saith Bellarmine) touching which we find not the Church to have determined any thing. And, how dangerous, and almost Heretical soever the Opinion of those Men seem to him to be, who hold, That the Pope of Rome may fall into Heresie; yet doth he permit Pope *Adrian* to hold the same, not daring to rank him among the Hereticks, because that the Church had not as yet clearly and definitively delivered it self touching this Point. The same Bellarmine, in another Controversie of great importance, touching the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, finding himself hardly put to it, by his Adversaries urging against him the Authority of *S. Hierome*, who casts *Tobit*, the Book of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Maccabees*, out of the Canon, contrary to the Judgment of the Church of Rome, which receiveth them in; rids his hands of this Objection, after the same manner. *I confess* (saith he) *that S. Hierome held this Opinion, because that no General Council had as yet ordained any thing touching these Books.* Seeing therefore it is most clear, both from the Confession of our Adversaries, and also by the consideration of the thing it self, that the Fathers have vented in their Writings very many of their own particular Opinions, digested out of their own private Meditations, and which they had not learnt in the School of the Church; who sees not, that before we give any certain credit unto their Sayings, we ought first to be assured of what Nature they are? Whether they were their own particular Opinions onely, or the publick Sense of their Age? Since it is confessed by all, That those of the former sort are not always obligatory necessarily; but are such as oftentimes may, and sometimes ought to be rejected, without any scruple at all. You will object, perhaps, to a Protestant, That *S. Hierome* worshipped the Reliques of *Departed Saints*. How shall I know (will he reply upon you

* *Id. ibid. c. 12. Sect. Respond. Nicolaum, &c. Non invenitur ulla certa definitio Ecclesie de hac re. Id. ibid. Sect. ult. ex his.*

you again) whether this was his private Opinion onely, or not? If the Authority of this Father, for want of being grounded upon some Publick Declaration of the Church, could not bind *Bellarmino* to receive his Opinion, touching the *Canon* of the Old Testament; why should this Opinion of his, which is not any whit better grounded than the other, perswade me to the Worship of *Reliques*? The same will he reply upon you, and many times with much more appearance of Reason, concerning divers other Testimonies produced out of the Fathers. So that, whether you would confirm your own Faith, or whether you would wrest out of your Adversaries hand this manner of Reply, and make good all such Allegations; it will concern you to make it clear, concerning any Passage whatsoever, that you shall urge out of a Father, that it is not his own private Opinion, but was the Opinion of the Church it self wherein he lived: which, in my Judgment, is a thing that is as hard, or harder to be demonstrated, than any one of all those things we have yet discoursed of. For, those means by which we might easily attain to this Knowledge, are wanting unto us; and those which we have left us, are very weak, and very little concluding. If the Fathers themselves had but taken so much pains as to have distinguished betwixt these two sorts of Opinions, informing us in every particular Case, which were their own private Opinions only, and which were taught by the whole Church; or, at least, had but proposed some of them as *Doubtful*, and others again as *Assured Truths*, in like manner as *Origen* hath sometimes done; they would indeed have eased us very much: though, to say the truth, they would not have wholly cured us of our Grief: forasmuch as sometimes (as we shall hereafter make it appear) they attribute to the Church those things, which it is most evident that it never held. But they very seldom use to make any such Distinction; but commonly vent their own private Opinions in the very same manner as they do the publick; and

and sometimes also by reason of the Passion; which these Authors may chance naturally to have been subject unto, be the thing what it will, we shall have them recommending unto us with more eagerness, that which they have conceived, and brought forth themselves, than that which they have received from any other hand: so that we shall meet with very little in them, that may give us any light in this Particular. There would be left us yet another help in this business, by comparing that which they say here and there throughout their Writings, with the Publick Opinions of the Church, which would be a pretty safe and certain Rule to go by, had we any where else besides their Books, any clear and certain evidence, what the Belief of the Church hath been, in each several Age, touching all Points of Religion: and if this were so, we should not then need to trouble our selves with the studying the Writings of the Fathers; seeing that we read them for no other purpose, but only to discover out of them, what the opinion of Christendom hath been, touching those Points which are at this day controverted betwixt us. But now there is no man but knows, that this help is wanting to us. For, setting aside the *Creeds*, and the Determinations of the six first *General Councils*, and of some few of the *Provincial*, you will not meet with any Piece of this nature, throughout the whole stock of Antiquity. Now, (as we have already made it appear in the preceding Chapter,) the Ancient Church hath not any where declared, neither in its *Creeds*, nor in the aforesaid *Councils*, what the opinion and sense of it hath been, touching the greatest part of those Points, which are now in dispute amongst us. It followeth therefore, that by this means we shall never be able to distinguish, in the Writings of the Fathers, which were their own private opinions, and which they held in common with the rest of the Church. If we could indeed learn from any creditable Author, that the present Controversies had ever been decided by the Ancient Church; we should

then readily believe; that the Fathers would have followed this their Decision: and then, although the *Confirmations* themselves should not perhaps have come down to our hands, yet notwithstanding should we be in some sort obliged to believe, that the Fathers who had both seen, and assented to the same, would also have delivered over the sense of them unto us in their Writings. But we meet with no such thing in any Author: but it rather appears evidently to the contrary, through the whole course of Ecclesiastical Story, that these Matters were never so much as started, in the first Ages of Christianity; so far have they been from being then decided. So that it manifestly appeareth from hence, that if the Fathers of those Primitive times have by chance said any thing of them; they fetched not what they said from the Determinations of the Church, which had not as yet declared it self touching the same; but vented rather their own private thoughts and opinions. Neither will it be to any purpose to object here, that the Testimonies of many Fathers together do represent unto us the sense of the Church; although the voice of one or two single persons only is not sufficient to do the same. For, not to answer, that that which hath hapned to one, may have hapned to many others; and, that if some particular persons chance to have fallen upon some particular Opinions, possibly others may either have accompanied, or else have followed them in the same: I say further, that this Objection is of no force at all in this Particular. For, seeing that the Church had not as yet declared its opinion publicly, touching the Points at this day controverted; it is as impossible that many together, that lived in the same time, should represent it unto us, as that one single person should. How could they possibly have seen that, which lay as yet concealed? How could they possibly measure their Belief by such a Rule, as was not yet visible to the World? The *Chiliasm* alledge the Testimonies, not of one, nor of two, but of a very great number of the most eminent

eminent and the most ancient among the Fathers, who were all of their opinion: as we shall see hereafter. The Answer, that is ordinarily made to the Objection, is, That the Church having not as yet declared its sence touching this Point, the Testimonies of these Men bind us not to believe the same: which is an evident Argument, that a great number, in this case, signifies no more than a small, in the representing unto us, what the Belief of the Church hath been: and that it is necessary, that either by some General Council, or else by some other publick way, it must have declared its judgment touching any Question in debate, that so we may know whether the Fathers have been of the same judgment, or no. So that according to this Account, we are to raise up again the whole Ancient Church, and to call it to account, touching every of these particular Points now debated, touching which the Testimonies of the Fathers are alledged; it being impossible otherwise to give any certain judgment, whether that which they say be their own private, or else the publick Opinion; that is to say, whether it be fit to be believed, or not. So that any man, that is but of the meanest judgment, may easily perceive how that it is not only a difficult, but also almost an impossible thing, to gather out of the Writings of the Fathers so much light, as is necessary we should have, for our satisfaction in matters of so great importance.

C H A P. X.
Reason 10. That it is a very hard matter to know, whether the Opinions of the Fathers, touching the Controversies of these Times, were received by the Church Universal, or but by some part of it only: which yet is necessarily to be known, before we can make use of any Allegations out of them.

BUT suppose that a Father, relieving us in this difficult, or rather impossible business, should tell us in express terms, that what he propoeth, is the sense and opinion of the Church in his time; yet would not this quite deliver us out of the doubtful condition we are in. For besides that their words are many times, in such cases as these, liable to exception, suppose that it were certainly and undoubtedly so; yet would it concern us then to examine, what that Church was, whereof he speaketh; whether it were the Church Universal, or only some Particular Church; and whether it were that of the whole World, or that of some City, Province, or Country only. Now that this is a matter of no small importance is evident from hence; because that the opinions of the Church Universal in Points of Faith are accounted infallible, and necessarily true: whereas those of Particular Churches are not so, but are confessed to be subject to Errour. So that the Question being here touching the Faith, which ought not to be grounded upon any thing, save what is infallibly true; it will concern us to know, what the judgement of the Church Universal hath been; seeing the opinion of no Particular Church can do us any service in this case. And, that this distinction is also otherwise

very

very necessary, appears evidently by this; because that the opinions and customs, which have been commonly received by the greatest part of Christendom, have not always presently taken place in each Particular Church; and again, those which have been received in some certain Particular Churches, have not been entertained by all the rest. Thus we find in story, that the Churches of *Asia minor* kept the Feast of *Easter* upon a different day from all the other parts of Christendom: and although the business it self seems to be of no very great importance, yet did it nevertheless cause a world of stir in the Church: *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, by reason of this little difference, excommunicating all *Asia minor*. Now each party here alledged their Reasons, and *Apostolical Tradition* for what they did; speaking with so great confidence in the justification of their own opinion, as that hearing them severally, a man would verily believe, that each of their opinions was the very sense of the whole Church; which notwithstanding was but the opinion of one part of it only. The greatest part of Christendom held the *Baptism of Hereticks* to be good and effectual; and received all those, who forsaking their Heresie, desired to be admitted into the Communion of the Church, without re-baptizing them; as appears out of *St. Cyprian*, who confesseth that this had also been the custom formerly, even in the *African Churches* themselves. And yet notwithstanding † *Firmilianus*, Archbishop of *Cæsaria* in *Cappadocia*, testifies, that the Churches of *Cappadocia* had time out of mind believed and practised the contrary; and had also in his time so declared and ordained, together with the Churches of *Galatia* and *Chilicia*, in a full Synod, held at the City *Iconium*. And about the same time also *St. Cyprian* and the Bishops of *Africa* fell upon the same business, and embraced this opinion of *Re-baptization of Hereticks*. The Acts of the Council held at *Carthage* are yet extant; where you have 87 Bishops, who with one unanimous consent established

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5 c. 23. 24. p. 55. Col. Græc.

Cyp. ep. 71. & ep. 75. qua est Firmil.

† *Firmil. ep. ad Cyp. qua est 75. inter epist. Cyp. Cæterum nos veritati & consuetudinem jungimus; & consuetudini Romanorum, consuetudinem, sed veritatis, opponimus; ab initio hoc tenentes, quod à Christo, & ab Apostolis traditum est.*

the same. The Custom at Rome in *Tertullian's* time, was, to receive into the Communion of the Church all Fornicators and Adulterers, after some certain Penances, which they enjoyed them. *Tertullian*, who was a *Montanist*, exclaimed fearfully against this custom, and wrote a Book expressly against it; which is also extant among his works at this day. Who now, that should read this Piece of his, would not believe that it was the general Opinion of all Catholics, that such sinners were not to be excluded from Penance, and the Communion of the Church? And yet for all this it is evident, out of a certain Epistle of *St. Cyprian*, that even some of the Catholic Bishops of *Africa* were of the contrary perswasion: and the Jesuit *Petravius* is further of opinion, that this Indulgency was not allowed, nor practised in the Churches of *Spain*, till a long time after; and, that the Ancient Rigour, which excluded for ever such Offenders from the Communion of the Church, was in practice among them, till the time of *Petrucianus*, Bishop of *Barcellona*, who left not any hopes of Ecclesiastical Absolution, either to Idolaters, Murtherers,

Pacian Paron. Or Adulterers; as may be seen in his Exhortation to Repentance. In the year of our Lord 364. the Council of *Laodicea* ordained, that none but the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament should be read in Churches, giving us withal a Catalogue of the said Books, which amount in all, in the Old Testament, to the number of twenty two only; without making any mention at all of those other Books, which Cardinal *Perron* calls *Psephumens*, namely *Ecclesiasticus*, the Book of *Wisdom*, the *Maccabees*, *Judith*, and *Tobit*. All the Canons of this Council were afterwards inserted into the Code of the Church Universal; where you have this very Canon also, Num. 163. that is as much as to say, they were received, as Rules of the Catholic Church. Who would believe now, but that this Declaration of the Canon of the Scriptures was at that time received by all Christian Churches? And yet notwithstanding you have the Churches of *Africa*, meet-
ing

*Cyp. epist. de
Anton.*

Pacian Paron.
ad Penit. T. 3.
Bibl. PP. p. 71.
Council. Laodic.
can. 59. in Cod.
Eccles. univers.
163.

ing together in the Synod at † *Carthage*, about the year of our Lord 397. and ordaining quite contrary to the † *Concil. Carthage*. III. can. former Resolution of *Laodicea*, that among those Books which were allowed to be read in Churches, the *Maecabees*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Book of *Wisdom*, (which two last they also reckon among the Books written by *Solomon*,) should be taken into the number. Who knoweth not the difference that there was, in the first Ages of Christianity, betwixt the Eastern and the Western Churches, touching the * *Fasting upon Saturdays*; the * *Vid. Petav.* Church of *Rome* maintaining it as lawful, and all the rest in *Epiph.* p. 359. of the World accounting it unlawful? Whence it was, that we had that so † bold Canon passed in the Council at

Constantinople, in *Trullo*, in these words: Understanding, that in the City of *Rome*, in the time of the Holy Fast of *Lent*, they fast on *Saturdays*, contrary to the Custom, and Tradition of the Church; it seemeth good to this Holy Council, that in the Roman Church they inviolably also observe that Canon, which saith; that, whosoever shall be found to fast either upon the Lords day, or upon the Saturday, (excepting only that one Saturday,) if he be a Clergie-man, he shall be deposed; but if he be of the Laity, he shall be excommunicated. Who knoweth not, after how many several ways the Fast of *Lent* was Anciently observed in divers Churches, an account whereof is given you by *Irenaeus*, in that

Pious * *Epistle* of his, which he wrote to *Victor*; part whereof *Eusebius* setteth down in his Ecclesiastical History? Who doth not also know, that the opinions, and expressions of the Greek Church, touching *Free-will*, and *Predestination*, are extremely different, from what the Church believed, and taught in *S. Augustines* time, and so downward? And as concerning the Discipline of the Church; do but hear *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, upon the

† *Can. Synod. Quinisex. Can. LV* Ἐπειδὴ μεμαθήκαμεν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς τετραετίας νηστείας τοῖς ταύτης σάββασι νηδεῖν, παρὰ τὴν παραδοξάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀπολαβάν, ἰδοὺς τὴν ἀγίαν Σύνοδον, ὅτι κατέβη καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαγορεύσας τὸ κατόνα τὸ λήροντα, εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἀνέβη ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Κυριακῇ νηδεῖν. ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τῶ ἐνδὲ καὶ μόνου, καθαιρεῖται· οἱ δὲ λαϊκοὶ ἀπολείπειται.

* *Iren. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. cap. 26.*

VI Canon of the VII General Council, which enjoyneth all Metropolitans to hold Provincial Synods once a year.

† Neither les it at all trouble thee, (saith he) that we have

† *Anastas. Biblioth. ad Can. 6. Conc. 7. Gener.* Nec te moveat, si hanc definitionem minime nos habemus: cum & earum nonnullas, quas inter Canones habemus, in auctoritatem non recipiamus; sicut quasdam ex Conciliis. Aliæ namq; apud Græcos tantum, aliæ verò apud certas tantum provincias in observantiam Ecclesiarum assumuntur: sicut Laodicensis Concilii 16, & 17 Regulæ, quæ apud Græcos tantum servantur: & Africani Concilii 6, & 8. capitula, quæ nulla provincia servare, nisi Africana, dignoscitur.

not this Decree; seeing that there are some others found among the Canons, whose Authority nevertheless we not admit of. For, some of them are in force, and are observed in the Greek Church; and others again in certain other Provinces only. As for example, the XVI and XVII. Canons of the Council of Laodicea are observed only among the Greeks; and the VI. and the VIII. Canons of the Council of Africk, are received by none, but the Africans only. I could here produce divers other Examples; but these may suffice, to shew, that the Opinions and Customs, which have been received in one Part of the Church, have not always been entertained in all the

rest. Whence it evidently follows, that all that is acknowledged, as the opinion, or observation of the Church, ought not therefore presently to pass for an Universal Law. The Protestant alledgeth, for the justifying his Canon of the Scriptures, the Council of Laodicea, before mentioned. Thou answerest him perhaps, that this indeed was the opinion of the Churches; but it was only of some particular Churches. I shall not here enter into an Examination, whether this Answer be well grounded, or not: it is sufficient for me, that I can safely then conclude from hence, that according to this account, before you can make use of any Opinion, or Testimony out of any of the Fathers; it is necessary, that you first make it appear, not only that it was the Opinion of the Church at that time; but you must further also clearly demonstrate unto us, what Churches opinion it was; whether of the Church Universal, or else of some Particular Church only. It is objected against the Protestants, that Epiphanius

testifieth

testifieth, that the Church admitted not into the higher Orders of the Ministry, any save those that were *Vir-* *Epiphan Har.*
gins, or professed Continency. Now to make good this *59. Tom. 1.*
 Allegation, it is necessary that it be first proved, that the Church he there speaks of, was the Church Universal. For (will the *Protestant* reply upon you,) as *Laodicea* hath had, as it seems, a particular Opinion touching the Canon of the Scriptures; possibly also *Cyprus* may in like manner have had its particular Resolutions touching the *Ordination of the Clergy*. The like may be said of the greatest part of those other Observations and Opinions of the Ancient Church. Now how difficult a business it will be, to clear these Matters, which are so full of perplexity, and to distinguish of Antiquity, at this so great a distance of time, severing that which was *Publick* from what was *Particular*, and that which was *Provincial* from what was *National*, and what was *National* from that which was *Universal*, any Man may be able to give some kind of guess; but none can thoroughly understand, save he that hath made trial of it. Do but fancy to your selves a City that hath lain ruined a thousand years, no part whereof remains, save onely the Ruines of Houses, lying all along here and there confusedly; all the rest being covered all over with Thorns and Bushes. Imagine then that you have met with one that will undertake to shew you precisely where the Publick Buildings of the City stood, and where the Private; which were the Stones that belonged to the one, and which belonged to the other; and, in a word, who, in these confused Heaps, where the Whole lies all together, will, notwithstanding, separate ye the one from the other. The very same Task, in a manner, doth he undertake, who ever shall go about truly and precisely to distinguish the Opinions of the Ancient Church. This *Antiquity* is now of Eleven or Twelve hundred years standing: and the Ruines of it are now onely left us, in the Books of the Writers of that Time, which also have met with none of the best enter-

tainment, in their Passage through the several Ages down to our time, as we have shewed before. How then dare we entertain the least hope, that amidst this so great Confusion, we should be able yet to distinguish the Pieces, and to tell which of them honoured the *Publick Temple*, and which went to the furnishing of *Private Chappels* onely? especially considering, that the *Private* ones have each of them ambitiously endeavoured to make their own pass for *Publick*. For where is the Province, or the City, or the Doctor, that hath not boastingly cried up his own Opinions, and Observations, as *Apostolical*? and which hath not used his utmost endeavour to gain them the Repute of being *Universal*? S. Hierome allows every particular Province full liberty to do herein as they please. *Let every Province* (saith he) *abound in its own Sense; and let them account of the Ordinances of their Ancestors, as of Apostolical Laws.* It is true indeed, that he speaks in this place onely of certain Observations of things which are in themselves indifferent: But yet, that which he hath permitted them in these Matters, they have practised in all other. I shall not here trouble my self to produce any other Reasons to prove the Difficulty of this Inquiry, because I should then be forced to repeat a great part of that which hath been already delivered. For, if it be a very hard matter to attain to any certain knowledge what the Sense of the Writings of the Fathers is, as we have proved before; how much more difficult a thing will it be, to discover whether their Opinions were the Opinions of the particular Churches wherein they lived, or else were the Opinions of the Church Universal in their Age: the same things which cause Obscurity in the one, having as much or rather more reason of doing the like in the other. And if you would fully understand how painful an Undertaking this is, do but read the Disputations of the Learned of both Parties, touching this Point; where you shall meet with so many Doubts

*Hieron. ep. 28.
ad Lucinum.
Unaquæque
Provincia a-
bundet in sen-
su suo, & præ-
cepta majo-
rum leges A-
postolicas ar-
bitretur.*

Doubts and Contradictions, and such diversity of Opinions, that you will easily conclude, That this is one of the greatest Difficulties that is to be met withal throughout the whole Study of Antiquity.

C H A P. XI.

Reason XI. *That it is impossible to know exactly what the Belief of the Ancient Church, either Universal or Particular, hath been, touching any of those Points which are at this day controperted amongst us.*

BEfore we pass on to the Second Part of this Treatise, it seemeth not impertinent to give the Reader this Last Advertisement, and to let him know, that though all these Difficulties here before represented were removed, yet notwithstanding would it still be impossible for us to know certainly, out of the Fathers, what the Judgment of the whole Ancient Church, whether you mean the Church Universal, or but any considerable Part thereof, hath been, touching the Differences which are now on foot in Religion. Now that we may be able to make the truth of this Proposition appear, it is necessary that we should first of all explain the Terms.

We understand commonly by the *Church*, (especially in these Disputations) either all those Persons in General who profess themselves to be of the said Church, of what Condition or Quality soever they be; or else, in a stricter sense, the Collective Body of all those who are set over, and who are Representatives of the Church; that is to say, the *Clergy*. So that whether you speak of the Church Universal, or of

some Particular Church, as, for example, that of *Spain*, or of *Carthage*, this Term may be taken in either of these two senses. For, by the Church Universal, we understand either all those Persons in general who live in the Communion of the Christian Church, whether they be of the *Layty*, or of the *Clergy*; or else, those Persons onely who are *Ecclesiastici*, or Church-men; as we now call them. For, in the Primitive Times, all Christians that lived in the Communion of the Catholicks, were called *Ecclesiastici*. In like manner, by the Church of *Carthage*, is meant either generally All the Faithful that live in the particular Communion of the Christian Church of *Carthage*; or else particularly, and in a stricter sense, the Bishop of *Carthage*, with his whole *Clergy*. Now I do not believe that there is any Man but will easily grant me, that if we take the Church in the First sense, it is impossible to know, by way of Testimony given of the same, what the Sense and Judgment of it hath been in each severall Age, touching all the Points of Christian Religion. We may indeed collect, by way of Discourse, what hath been the Belief of the True Members of the Church: For there being some certain Articles, the Belief whereof is necessarily requisite for the rendring a Man such an one; whosoever rightly understands which these Articles be, he may certainly conclude, that the True Church, whether Universal, or Particular, hath believed the same. But now, in the first place, this doth not extend to all the Points of Christian Religion, but onely to those which are *Necessary*: besides which, there are divers others, concerning which we may have not onely different, but even contrary Judgments too; and yet not thereby hazard the loss either of the Communion of the Church, or of our Inheritance of everlasting Salvation. So then, this Ratiocination concludeth not, save onely of those who are the True Members of the Church. For as for those who make but an outward Profession onely of the Truth, it being not at all necessary that they should be saved,

saved, there is in like manner no more necessity of their embracing those Beliefs which are requisite for that end. They may, under this Mask, hide all manner of Opinions, how Impious soever they be. Lastly, that which makes most for our purpose is, That this Knowledge is acquired by Discourse; whereas we speak here of such a Knowledge as is collected by the hearing of several Witnesses, who give in their Testimonies touching the thing which we would know. Now the Fathers having written with a purpose of informing us, not what each particular Man believed in their time, but rather what they thought fit that all Men should have believed; we must needs conclude, That certainly they have not told us all that they knew touching this particular. And consequently therefore, partly their Charity, and partly also their Prudence, may have caused them to pass by in silence all such Opinions, either of whole Companies, or of particular Persons, as they conceived to be not so consonant to the Truth. But supposing that they had not any of these considerations; and that they had taken upon them to give us a just Account, each Man of the Opinions of his particular Church wherein he lived; it is evident however, that they could never have been able to have attained to the end of this their Design. For, how is it possible that they should have been able to have learnt what the Opinion of every single Person was, amongst so vast a Multitude, which consisted of so many several Persons, who were of so different both Capacities and Dispositions? Who will believe, that *S. Cyprian*, for example, knew all the several Opinions of each particular Person in his Diocese, so as to be able to give us an account of the same? Who can imagine, but that among such a Multitude of People as lived in the Communion of his Church, there must needs have been very many who differed in Opinion from him, in divers Points of Religion? Even at this very day, that we may not trouble our selves to look so high, we see by experience, that there is scarcely that
Parish.

Parish to be found, how small soever it be, where there are not particular Persons that maintain, in many Points of Religion, different Opinions from those of their Minister. But if we take a whole Diocese together, and pass by all those who trouble themselves not at all with the difference of Opinions in Religion, whether it be by reason of their want of years, or their weakness of Judgment, or their malice; and take notice only of the rest, dividing them according to the difference of their Opinions, I am verily perswaded, that that part which shall agree in all Points with the Bishop of that Diocese, will many times be found to be the least. Let a Bishop preach or write what he will, touching the Points which are now in Controversie, he will very hardly represent unto you the Judgment of half the People of his Diocese. Now we must conceive, that the temper of the World of old was no other than what it is at this present day: and therefore also, for this very reason, the liberty of embracing what Opinions a man pleased, was much greater then, than it is now; forasmuch as the Church of Rome did not exercise its Power then throughout *Christendom* so Absolutely as it doth now adays: neither did the Pastors, or the Princes, use that severity and rigour which is now every where practised in our days, for the repressing this diversity of Opinions. We must therefore necessarily believe, that the Opinions of the Faithful were in those days altogether as different, if not much more, than they are now. Whence it will also follow, That even the Doctors themselves, who lived in those Times, could not know all the different Opinions of Men, much less could they represent them unto us in their Writings. But we shall not stand any longer upon a thing that no Man can deny us; but shall rather proceed to the consideration of that which every one no doubt will be ready here to reply upon us, touching this Particular, namely, That it is not necessary that we should know the Opinions, in Points of Religion, of all particular Persons, which

which are almost infinite in number, and for the most part very ill grounded, and uncertain: but that it is sufficient if we know what the Belief hath been of the *Pastors*, and those that have been set over the Church; that is to say, of the Church taken in the latter sense. But yet I confess I do not see that this Rule is so absolutely right, as that we ought to walk by it. For, if we are to take the Church for the Rule and Foundation of our Faith, (as the Authors of this Reply pretend we ought to do) the *People*, in my Judgment, ought not then to be here excluded, and passed by, as a thing of no consideration. I confess, the Opinions of particular Persons are very different one from the other; and the knowledge of some of them is very mean, and sometimes also is none at all. But yet possibly this Reason may chance to exclude even a good part of the *Clergy* also, from the Authority which they lay claim to in this Particular; being it cannot be denied, but that both Ignorance and Malice have oftentimes as great a share here, proportionably, as they have among the very *People* it self. Who sees not, that, if we must have regard to the Capacity of Men, there are sometimes found, even among the plain ordinary sort of Christians in a Church, those that are more considerable, both for their Learning and Piety, than the Pastors themselves?

* One of those *Fathers*, of whom we now discourse, hath informed us, *That many times the Clergy have erred, the Bishop hath wavered in his Opinion, the Rich Men have adhered in their Judgment to the Earthly Princes of this World; mean while the People alone preserved the Faith entire.* Seeing therefore that it may sometimes happen, and that it hath also many times hapned, that the *Clergy* have held Erroneous Opinions, while the *People* onely held the True, it is very evident, in my judgment, that the Opinion of the *People* in these cases ought not wholly to be neglected. And truly, *S. Cyprian* telleth us in divers places, That the Church in his time had the *People* in very great esteem; no Business of any importance

* *Ambros. Ser.*

17. T. 4. p 725.

Plerumq; Cle-

rus erravit: Sa-

cerdotum nu-

tavit senten-

tia: divites

cum saculi

istius terreno

Rege sense-

runt; Populus

fidem propri-

am reservavit.

*
C Cypr. in Conc
Pantag. p 297.
ræfente et
am plebis ma-
* imâ parte,

importance being then transacted, without communicating the same to the *People*; as may be seen by any one, in the Epistles of this Father: insomuch that, * *The greatest part of the People also were present at the Council of Carthage*, where the Question touching the *Baptism of Hereticks* was debated; whereof we have already spoken somewhat a little before. But because this Point is still controverted, I shall let it alone for this time. Let us therefore grant, (since our Adversaries will needs have it so) that it is sufficient in this case to know what the Belief was of the *Church*, taken in the later and stricter sense; that is to say, of the *Clergy*: for even this way it is evident enough, that it is a very hard, if not an impossible thing, truly to discover what it hath been in each several Age. For, there is no less diversity of Opinion among the *Clergy*, than there is among the *People*: and many times too there is much more; the being constant in Books, ordinarily reducing things into nicer subtilties, and giving occasion of raising divers Opinions upon the same. Who is he that will undertake to give us an Account what the Opinion is of all the *Clergy* of one City onely; I do not say of a Kingdom, or of all *Christianity*; touching all the Articles of Religion? Who would be able to perform this, if he should undertake it? Never was there more exact care taken for the Conservation of Uniformity in Judgment among Christians, than is now at this day; when there is use made, not onely of the Censures and Thunderbolts of the *Church*, but even of the Fire and the Sword of the *Secular Powers* also. And yet, notwithstanding all this, how many Ecclesiastical Persons are there to be found, even in those very places where these rigorous Courses are observed, with the greatest strictness, even at *Rome* it self, and as it were in the Popes own Bosom, who differ very much in Judgment touching Points of Religion, both from their Equals, and from their Superiours? In *France*, where, by the Blessing of God, the Liberty of Conscience is much greater

greater than in other places, it would be a wonder, if, where Four Clergy Men of the more Learned, and Politer sort were met together, Two of them should not, upon some Point or other of the Faith, differ in judgment from the Main Body of their Church. And here I am to intreat all those who follow *Cassander* in great numbers, adoring the Monuments of the Fathers, and who take whatsoever they find in him, for the General Sense of the Ancient Christians, but to turn their eyes back a little upon themselves, and to consider, how many opinions they themselves hold, which are not only different, but even quite contrary too to the Church, in the Communion whereof they live, and of which they profess themselves to be Members, and by which indeed they subsist. The Difference is here to great, as that it seems to be, as it were, one State within another State, and one Church within another Church. And yet notwithstanding, when any of the Doctors of that Party, to which they adhere, deliver unto us, either in their Definitions, or in their Sermons, or in their Books, the common Sense, and Judgment of their Church, this Intermixture of Opinions is quite laid aside, and appears not at all. They speak only of the opinions of others, passing by those of *Cassander*, which are contrary to them, in silence, as if they did not at all concern the Church of *Rome* neither more nor less: and yet it is very well known unto us, even to us who live at this very day, that they are favoured, and maintained by very many of the most Eminent Persons of the *Roman Clergy* it self. And if this senseless Sect, who forsooth think themselves much more refined in their opinions than the rest of the Body, whereof they are a part, should chance in time either to fail of it self, or to be suppress by force; their Memory would so utterly come to nought, as that Posterity would not know any thing of their Belief, but only by conjecture. Every one will then believe, that the

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Church

Church of Rome at this time precisely held to the Doctrine and Opinions that he reads in the Decrees of Trent, and in other the like Books; and yet notwithstanding we both know, and see, that among those very Persons, which have been Anointed, Consecrated, and Preferred also by the said Church, there is a Party that dissenteth from it in judgment, touching diverse Important Articles of Faith. Let us therefore reckon that the Ancient Church had also its *Cassanders*, and very many even among the Clergy itself, who held many opinions which were different from that which was the common Belief of the Church, and which it hath at length by little and little sunk, as it were, under water, and wholly swallowed up, so that now there is not any Tract of them left us. Christianity was either different in the Ancient times from what it is now, or else it was the same. If it was Different, it is then a Piece of meer Sophistry, to endeavour to make it seem to be the same; and a very great Abuse, to produce unto us, for this purpose, so many several Testimonies out of Antiquity. If it were the same, it must then without all doubt have produced the same Accidents, and have sown the same seeds of diversity of opinions in the spirits of its Clergy. Those opinions and observations which now give offence to the *Cassanders*, would then also have offended some persons or other, that were endued with the like Moderation. For we are not to conceive, but that those First Ages of Christianity brought forth Spirits, that were as much, and more refined and delicate, than ours have done. But that we may insist upon this particular no longer, it is sufficient for me, that I have thus clearly made it appear, that in the Ancient Church, the whole Clergy of a City, or of a Nation, much less of the whole World, had not necessarily one and the same sense and opinion, touching Points of Religion. So that it will follow

follow from hence, that we cannot know certainly, whether those opinions which we meet withal in the Fathers, were received by all and every of the Pastors of the Church at that time, or not. All that you can gather thence is but this at the most; that they themselves, and some others perhaps of the most eminent amongst them (if you please,) maintained such or such opinions: in like manner, as that which *Bellarmino*, and others have written, touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist, will inform Posterity, that these Men, and many others of our time, held these opinions in the Church of *Rome*. But as those who shall conclude from the Books of these Authors, that there is at this day no other opinion maintained, among the Clergy themselves of the Church of *Rome*, touching this Particular, would very much abuse themselves; so is it much to be feared that we in like manner deceive ourselves, when, from what we find in Two or Three of the Fathers, we conclude, that there was at that time no other opinion held in the Christian Church, touching those Points whereof they treat, save that which they have delivered. It is a very hazardous business, to take Eight or Ten Men, how Holy and Learned soever they may have been, as *Sureties* for all the Doctors of the Church Universal, that lived in their Age. This is too little *Security*, for so great a Sum.

Now there are Two things, which may be objected against that which we have before delivered. The First is, that if there had been in Antiquity any other opinions touching the Points now in Debate, which had been different from those which we now meet with in the Books, either of all the Fathers, or at least of some few of them; they would then both have mentioned, and also refuted them. But we have already heretofore answered this Objection, by saying, that the Fathers forbore to speak any thing of this Diversity of opi-

on, partly out of Prudence, lest otherwise they might have provoked the Authors of the said opinions, which were contrary to their own; and so might increase the Difference, instead of appeasing it: and partly also out of Charity; mildly bearing with that, which they accounted not any whit dangerous. I only speak here of those Differences in opinion, which they knew of: for there might be a great number of others, which they knew not of. Who can oblige you to believe, that a Monk, for example, that had retired into a Corner, and as it were forsaken the World, professing only to instruct a small number of Men and Women in the Rules of Devotion, must needs have known, what the opinions in Points of Religion of all the Prelates of his Age were? Who will pass his word unto us, in his behalf, that he doth not sometimes reprove that in some Men, which yet the Church allowed in an infinite number of others? Who will warrant us, that all Christendom in his time embraced all his opinions, and had no other of their own? *Possevino* answering an Objection made by some, touching the Works of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, which *S. Hierome* hath made no mention of at all, saith; that it is no great marvel, that a Man that lay hid in a Corner of the World, should not have seen this Book, which the *Arrians* endeavoured to suppress. May not a Man with as much reason say, that it is no great wonder, if *S. Hierome*, or *Epiphanius*, or any other the like Authors, who were taken up all of them with their particular Charges, and Employments, did not know of some opinions of the Prelates of their Age; or that either their Modesty, or their Charity, or the little Eloquence, and Reputation they had abroad, might have made them conceal the same?

The other Objection is drawn from hence, because that these Doctors of the Ancient Church, who held some opinions different from those which we read at this day

Possevino in
Appar.

day in the Fathers, did not publish them at all. But, I answer first of all, that every Man is not able to do so. In the next place, those that were able, were not always willing to do so. Divers other Considerations may perhaps also have hindred them from so doing: and if they are Wise, and Pious Men, they are never moved, till they needs must. And hence it is, that oftentimes those opinions, which have less truth in them, do yet prevail, because that *Prudence*, which maintains the True Opinion, is Mild, and Patient: whereas *Rashness*, which defends the False, is of a Froward, Eager, and Ambitious Nature. But now let us but imagine, how many of the Evidences of this Diversity of opinion may have been made away, by those several ways before represented by us, as namely having been either devoured by Time, or suppressed by Malitious Men; for fear lest they should let the World see the Traces of the Truth, which they would have concealed? But that I may not be thought to bring here only bare Conjectures, without any proof at all, I shall produce some Examples also, for the confirming, and clearing of this my Assertion.

Epiphanius maintains against *Aerius*, whom he ranks *Epiph. in Pa-* among his *Heresarche*, or Arch Hereticks, that a *Bi-* nar. Har. 75. shop, according to the Apostle Saint Paul, and the Original Institution of the thing it self, is more than a Priest: and this he endeavours to prove in many words, answering all the Objections, that are made to the contrary. If you but read the Passage, I am confident that when you had done, you would not stick to swear, that what he hath there delivered, was the general opinion of all the Doctors of the Church; it being very unlikely, that so Great and so Renowned a Prelate would so flatly have denied the opinion which he disputed against, if so be any one of his own familiar friends had also maintained the same. And yet for all this, Saint *Hierome* (who

Who was one of the Principal Lights of our Western Church, and who lived at the same time with Epiphanius, who was his intimate Friend, and a great admirer of his

† Hieron. Ep. 33. ad Oceanum.
Tom. 2. Quamquam apud veteres iidem Episcopi & Presbyteri fuerint: quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc etatis.
Id. ep. 85. ad Euseb. Tom. 2. Cum Apostolus perspicue doceat, eisdem esse Presbyteros, quos & Episcopos, &c.
Id. Com. in Ag. Tom. 5. p. 512.
Et Com. in Tit. Tom. 6. p. 443.
Fuf.

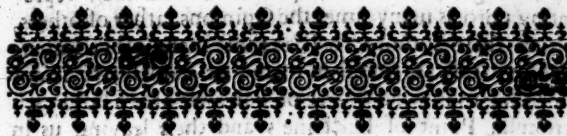
Piety, (saith expressly, † that Among the Ancients, Bishops, and Priests, were the same; the one being a name of Dignity, and the other of Age. And that it may not be thought, that this fell from him in discourse only, he there falls to proving the same at large, alledging several Passages of Scripture, touching the Particular; and he also repeats the same thing, in two or three several places of his Works. Whereby it evidently appears, that even Positions which have been quite Contradictory to the opinions which have been delivered, and maintained by some of the Fathers, and proposed in what terms soever, have notwithstanding been sometimes either maintained, or at least tolerated by some others of no less Authority. S. Hierome himself hath said extremely foul upon Rufinus, and hath traduced others of his opinions, as most Pernicious and Deadly: and yet notwithstanding we do not any where find, that ever he was accounted as an Heretick, by the rest of the Fathers. But we shall have occasion hereafter to consider more at large of the like Examples; and shall only at present observe, that if those Books of S. Hierome, which we mentioned a little before, should chance to have been lost, every Man would then assuredly have concluded with Epiphanius, that no Doctor of the Ancient Church ever held that a Bishop and a Priest were one and the same thing, in its Institution.

Who now after all this will assure us, that among so many other opinions, as have been rejected here, and there by the Fathers, and that too in as plain terms, as these of Epiphanius, none of them have ever been defended by some of the Learned of those times? Or, is it not possible that they may have held them, though they did not

not write in defence of the same? Or, may they not perhaps have written also in defence of them, and their Books have been since lost? How small is the number of those in the Church, who had the Ability, or at least the Will to write? And how much smaller is the number of those, whose Writings have been able to secure themselves, against either the Injury of Time, or the Malice of Men? It is objected against the Protestants, as we have touched before, that S. *Hierome* commendeth, and maintaineth the Adoration of *Reliques*: But yet he himself testifieth, that there were some *Bishops*, who defended *Vigilantius*, who held the contrary opinion; whom he, according to his ordinary Rhetorick calleth * *His Consorts in Wickedness*. Who knows now, what these *Bishops* were; and whether they deserved any such usage at S. *Hieromes* hands, or no? For, the Expressions which he useth against them, and against their opinion, are so full of Gall, and of Choler, as that they utterly take away all credit from his Testimony. But we have insisted long enough upon this Particular, and shall therefore forbear to instance any further in others. For as much therefore as it is Impossible to discover exactly, out of the Fathers, what hath been the sense and judgment of the Ancient Church; whether taken Universally or Particularly; or whether you take the Church for the whole *Body of Believers*, or for the *Prelates and Inferiour Clergy* only; I shall here conclude, as formerly, that the Writings of the Ancients are altogether Insufficient, for the proving the Truth of any of those Points, which are at this day controverted amongst Us.

* *Hier. in Vigil. T. 2. p. 159. Prob! nefas, Episcopus sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes.*

THE



T.H.E.
SECOND BOOK.

C.H.A.P. I.
*That the Fathers are not of sufficient Authority
for the Deciding of our Controversies in Re-
ligion.*

Reason I. *That the Testimonies given by the
Fathers, touching the Belief of the Church,
are not always True and Certain.*

WE have before shewed how hard a
matter it is to discover what the Sense
of the Fathers hath been touching the
Points at this day controverted in Re-
ligion; both by reason of the small number of Books
we have left us of the Fathers of the First Centuries;
and those too which we have, treating of such things
as are of a very different nature from our present
Disputes; and which besides we cannot be very well
assured of, by reason of the many Forgeries and mon-
strous Corruptions which they have for so long a time
been subject to; as also by reason of their Obscurity,
A a and

and Ambiguity in their Expressions; and their representing unto us many times the Opinions rather of others, than of their Authors: besides those many other Imperfections which are found in them; as namely, their not informing us in what degree of Faith we are to hold each particular Point of Doctrine; and their leaving us in doubt, whether what they teach be the Judgment of the Church, or their own private Opinion onely: and whether, if it be the Judgment of the Church, it be of the Church Universal, or of some Particular Church onely. Now, the least of these Objections is sufficient to render their Testimony invalid: And again, on the other side, that it may be of force, it is necessary that it be clearly and evidently free from all these Defects; forasmuch as the Question is here, touching the Christian Faith, which ought to be grounded on nothing, save what is sure and firm. Whosoever therefore would make use of any Passage out of a Father, he is bound first to make it appear, that the Author out of whom he citeth the said Passage, lived, and wrote in the first Ages of Christianity; and besides, that the said Person is certainly known to be the Author of that Book out of which the said Passage is quoted: and moreover, that the Passage cited is sincere, and no way corrupted, nor altered: and likewise, that the Sense which he gives of it, is the true genuine Sense of the Place; and also, that it was the Opinion of the Author, when he was now come to Ripeness of Judgment, and which he changed not, or retiaed afterwards. He must also make it appear, in what degree he held it, and whether he maintained it as his own private Opinion onely, or as the Opinion of the Church: and, lastly, whether it were the Opinion of the Church Universal, or of some particular Church onely: which Inquiry is a Business of so vast and almost infinite labour, that it makes me very much doubt whether or no we can be ever able to attain to a full and certain assurance what the Real Positive Sense of the Ancients hath been, touching

ing the whole Body of Controversies now debated in this our Age. Hence therefore our principal Question seems to be decided; namely, Whether the alledging of the Fathers be a sufficient and proper Means for the demonstrating the Truth of all those Articles which are at this day maintained by the Church of *Rome*, and rejected by the *Protestants*; or not? For who doth not now see, that this kind of proof hath as much or more difficulty in it, than the Question it self? and that such Testimonies are as Obscure, as the Controverted Opinions themselves? Notwithstanding, that we may not be thought too hastily, and upon too light grounds, to reject this way of Proceeding, we will pass by all that obscurity that is found touching the Opinions of the Ancients; and supposing it to be no hard matter to discover what the Opinion and Sense of the Fathers hath been touching the aforesaid Points, we will now in this Second Book consider, whether or no their Authority be such, as that we ought, or may, without further examination, believe on their score, what we know them certainly to have believed, and to hold it in the same degree that they did.

There are two sorts of Passages to be observed in the Writings of the Fathers: In the one, you have them speaking only as *Witnesses*, and testifying what the Belief of the Church was in their Time: In the other, they propose to you, like *Doctors*, their own Private Opinions. Now, there is a World of difference betwixt these two things: For in a *Witness* there is required only *Exactness* and Truth; but in a *Doctor*, *Learning* and *Knowledge*. The one perswades us, by the opinion we have of his *Versacity*; the other, by the strength of his Arguments. The Fathers are *Witnesses* onely, when they barely tell us, That the Church in their Times held such or such Opinions: And they are then *Doctors*, when getting up, as it were, into the Chair, they propose unto us their own Opinions, making them good either out of the

Scripture, or out of Reason. Now, as concerning the Testimonies that they give, touching the Faith held by the Church in their time, I know not whether we ought to receive all they bring, for certain Truths, or not: But this I am sure of, that though they should deserve to be received by us for such, yet nevertheless would they stand us in very little stead, as to the Business now in hand. The Reason which moveth me to doubt of the former of these, is, because I observe, that those very Men who are the greatest Admirers of the Fathers, do yet confess, that although they erre very little, or not at all, in matter of *Right*, yet nevertheless, they are often out, and have their failings in matter of *Fact*: because that *Right* is an Universal thing, which is every way Uniform, and all of one sort; whereas, matter of *Fact* is a thing which is mixed, and as it were enchased with divers particular Circumstances, which may very easily escape the knowledge of, or at least be not so rightly understood by, the most clear and piercing Wits. Now, the condition of the Churches Belief, in every particular Age, is matter of *Fact*, and not of *Right*; and a Point of History, and not an Article of Faith: So that it followeth hence, that possibly the Fathers may have erred, in giving us an account herof; and that therefore their Testimonies, in such Cases, ought not to be received by us, as infallibly True: Neither yet may we be thought hereby to accuse the Fathers of Falshood. For, how often do the honestest Persons that are, innocently testify such things as they thought they had seen, which it afterwards appeareth that they saw not at all? for Goodness renders not Men infallible. The Fathers therefore, being but Men, might both be deceived themselves in such things, and might consequently also deceive those who have confided in them, though innocently, and without any design of doing so. But besides all this, it is very evident, that they have not been wholly free from Passion neither, and there is no Man but knows, that Passion very often

often disguiseth things, and maketh them appear even to the honestest Men that may be, much otherwise than they are; in so much that sometimes they are passionately carried away with one Opinion; and do as much abhor another. Which secret Passion might easily make them believe, that the Church held that Opinion, which they themselves were most taken with; and that it rejected that which they themselves disliked; especially if there were but the least appearance or shadow of Reason to incline them to this Belief: For Men are very easily persuaded to believe what they desire. I conceive we may hereto impute that Testimony of *S. Hierome*, where he affirms, * That the Churches of Christ held, That the Souls of Men were immediately Created by God, at the instant of their entrance into the Body. *Hier. Ep. 61. de Error. Jo. Hier.* Omne deinceps humanum genus quibus animarum censetur exordiis? *Id. Apol. 1. contra Ruff.* Miraris si contra te fratrum scandala connotentur; cum id nescire te jures, quod Christi Ecclesie se scire fateantur? *Id. Apol. 1. contra Ruff.* Miraris si contra te fratrum scandala connotentur; cum id nescire te jures, quod Christi Ecclesie se scire fateantur? And yet notwithstanding, that doubt which *S. Augustine* was in, touching this Particular, and his inclining manifestly to the contrary Opinion; which was, That the Soul was propagated together with the Body, and descended down from the Father to the Son; this doubt, I say, of his, manifestly proveth, that the Church had not as yet at that time embraced or concluded upon the former of these Opinions: it being a thing utterly improbable, that so modest a Man as *S. Augustine* was, would have cast off the general Opinion of the Church, and have taken up a particular Fancy of his own. But the Passion wherewith *S. Hierome* was at that time carried away against *Ruffinus*, a great part of the Learned Men of his time being also of the said Opinion; easily wrought in him a belief, that it was the Common Judgment and Opinion of the whole Christian Church. From the same Root also sprang that Error of *John Bishop of Thessa-*

Joan. Thessal in Concil. VII. *Ad 5.*
 Νοῦς αὐτῶν ἡ καθολικὴ
 ἐκκλησίαι ἡνόςκεν ὅτι οὐ
 ματρὶς πάντῃ καὶ ἀσώματος
 σώματος ὅτι καὶ ἀσώματος
 εἶδους.

Thessalonica (if at least it be an *Errour*.)
 who affirmed *That the Opinion of the*
Church was That Angels are not bodily
Incorporeal and Invisible: but that

they have Bodies though of a very Rare
and thin Substance, not much unlike those of the Fire, or
the Air. For those who published the General Coun-
 cils at *Rome*, conceive this to have been his own pri-
 vate Opinion only: And if so, (neither shall we need
 at present to examine the Truth of this their Conceit;) you then plainly see, that the Affection this Author bare
 to his own Opinion, carried him so far away, as to make
 him father upon the whole Church, what was indeed
 but his own particular Opinion: though otherwise he
 was a Man who was highly esteemed by the VII Coun-
 cil, ^b which not only citeth him among the Fathers,
 but honours him also with the Title of a Father,
Epiphanius must also be excused in the same manner,
 where he assures us, That the Church held by Apostolical
Tradition the Custom which it had of meeting toge-
 ther thrice a Week, for the Celebration of the Holy
 Eucharist: which yet ^c *Petavius* maketh evidently ap-
 pear not to have been of Apostolical Institution. The
 Mistakes of Venerable *Beda*, noted and censured else-
 where by ^d *Petavius*, are of the
 same nature also: *The Belief*
of the Church, if I mistake not,
(saith he) is, That our Saviour
Christ lived in the Flesh Thirty
three Years, or thereabout, till
the time of his Passion. And he
 saith moreover, *That the Church*
of Rome testifies, that this is its
Belief, by the Marks which
they yearly set upon their Tapers,
upon Good Friday: whereon they
always inscribe a Number of
Years,

^a *Ibid in Marg.*
 Loquitur ex
 propria sen-
 tentia.

^b *Concil. VII.*
Ad 5.

^c *Petav. in Epi-*
phan pag 354.

^d *Petav. in Epiphanius. 113, 143, 145.*

^e *Beda lib. de Temp. rat. c 45* Habet enim,
 nisi fallor, Recte: fides, Dominum in
 carne paulo plus minus quam XXXIII
 annis, usque ad suæ tempora: Passionis
 vixisse. Mox, Sancta siquidem Romana &
 Apostolica Ecclesia hanc se fidem tenere
 & ipsis testatur indiculis, quæ suis in cereis
 annuatim inscribere solet, ubi tempus
 Dominicæ Passionis in memoriam populi
 revocans, numerum annorum triginta
 semper & tribus annis minorem quam
 ab ejus Incarnatione Dionysius, ponit, an-
 no at. *Id. ibid.* Nam quod Dominus XV
 Luna, feria VI, crucem ascenderit, &c.
 nulli licet dubitare Catholico.

the Right Use of the Fathers.

8

Tears, which is less by Thirty three than the common Era of the Christians. He likewise saith in the same place, *That it is not lawfull for any Catholick to doubt whether Jesus Christ suffered on the Cross the XV day of the Moon, or not.* Now Petavius hath proved at large, that both these Opinions, which Beda delivers unto us as the Churches Belief, are nothing less than what he would have them. * The curious Reader may observe many the like Carriages in the Writings of the Fathers: but these here already set down, in my judgment, do sufficiently justify the doubt which I have made, namely, that we ought not to receive as Certain Truths the Testimony which the Fathers give, touching the Belief of the Church in their Time. Nevertheless, that we may not seem to make a breach upon the Honour and Reputation of the Fathers, I say, that though we should grant, that all their Depositions and Testimonies in this Particular were certainly and undoubtedly True; yet notwithstanding would they be of little use to us, as to our present purpose. For first of all, there are but very few Passages wherein they testify plainly, and in direct Terms, what the Belief of the Church in their Time hath been, touching the Points now controverted amongst us. This is the Business of an Historian, rather than of a Doctor of the Church, whose Office is to teach, to prove, and to exhort the People committed to his Charge, and to correct their Vices and Errours; telling them what they ought to do, or believe, rather than troubling them with Discourses of what is done or believed by others. But yet when they do give their Testimony what the Belief and Discipline of the Church in their time was, this Testimony of theirs ought not to extend save onely to what was apparently such, and which besides was appatent to themselves too. Now, as we have formerly proved, they could not possibly know the Sense and Opinions of every particular Christian that lived in their time; nor yet of all the Pastors and Ministers who were set over them: but of some certain

* Petav. in E.
piphan. p. 113.
143.

tain Particular Christians, onely. Forasmuch therefore as it is confessed, even by those very Men who have the Church in greatest esteem, that the Belief of Particular Churches is not infallible, we may very easily perceive, that such Testimonies of the Fathers as these can stand us in very little or no stead, seeing they represent unto us such Opinions as are not always certainly and undoubtedly True, and which consequently are so far from confirming and proving ours, as that they rather stand in need of being examined, and proved themselves. But yet, suppose that the Church of Rome did hold, that the Beliefs of Particular Churches were Infallible, (which yet it doth not,) yet would not this make any thing at all against the *Protestants*, forasmuch as they are of the clean contrary Opinion. Now, it is taken for granted on all hands, that Proofs ought to be fetched from such things as are confessed and acknowledged by your Adversary, whom you endeavour to convince, otherwise you will never be able to move him, or make him quit his former Opinion. Seeing therefore, that the Testimonies of the Fathers, touching the State of the Faith, and Ecclesiastical Discipline of their Times, are of this Nature, it remaineth, that we now consider their other Discourses, wherein they have delivered themselves, not as *Witnesses*, deposing what they had seen; but as *Doctors*, instructing us in what they believed. And certainly, how Holy and Able soever they were, it cannot be denied but that they were still Men, and consequently were subject to Error, especially in matters of Faith, which is a Business so much transcending Humane Apprehension. The Spirit of God onely was able to direct their Understandings, and their Pens in the Truth, and to withhold them from falling into any Errors, in like manner as it directed the Holy Prophets and Apostles, while they wrote the Books of the Old and New Testament. Now, we cannot be any way assured, that the Spirit of God was present always with them, to enlighten their Under-

Understandings, and to make them see the Truth of all those things whereof they wrote. They neither pretend to this themselves; nor yet doth any one, that I know of, attribute unto them this Assistance, unless it be perhaps the Author of the *Gloss* upon the *Decrees*, * who is of Opinion, that we ought to stand to all that the Fathers have written, even to the least tittle: who yet is very justly called to a round account for this, by * *Alphonfus à Castro*, and * *Melchior Canus*, Two Spanish Doctors. For as much therefore, as we are not bound to believe any thing, save that which is True; it is most evident, that we neither may, nor ought to believe the Opinions of the Fathers, till such time as they appear to us to have been certainly True. Now, we cannot be certainly assured of this, by Their Single Authority; seeing that they were but Men, who were not always inspired by the Holy Spirit from above: and therefore it is necessary, that we make use of some other Guides in this our Inquiry; namely, either of the Holy Scriptures, or of Reason, or of Tradition, or of the Doctrine of the Present Church, or of some other such means, as they themselves have made use of: So that it hence follows, that their bare Assertions, are no sufficient Ground for us to build any of our Opinions upon: they only serve to encline us before hand to the Belief of the same; the great opinion which we have of them, causing us to conclude, that They would never have embraced such an Opinion, except it had been True. Which manner of Argumentation how ever is, at the best, but Probable; so long as the Persons we have here to do withal, are only Men, and no more: and in this particular Case, where the Question is, touching Points of Faith, it is by no means in the world to be allowed off; since that Faith is to be grounded, not upon Probabilities, but upon necessary Truths. The Fathers are like to other great Masters in this Point, and their Opinions are more, or less Valid, in proportion to the Reason, and Authority, whereon they are grounded: only they have this Advan-

* *Gloss in Decr. D. 9. c. 3. Hodie jubentur omnia teneri, usq; ad ultimum iora.*
* *Alphonf. à Castro. l. 1. advers. Har. c. 7.*
* *Melch. Canus l. 7. loc. Theol. c. 3. Num. 4.*

tage, that their very Name begets in us a readiness, and inclination, to receive whatsoever comes from them; while we think it very improbable, that so Excellent men as they were, should ever believe any thing that was False. Thus in Humane Sciences, the saying of an *Aristotle* is of a far different Value, from that of any other Philosopher of less Account; because that all men are before-hand possessed with an Opinion, that this Great Philosopher would not maintain any thing, that was not consonant to Reason. But this is *Prejudice* only: for if upon better examination, it should be found to be otherwise, his Bare Authority would then no longer prevail with us; what himself had sometime gallantly said, would then here take place; namely, *That it is a sacred thing, always to preferre the Truth, before Friendship.* Let the Fathers therefore if you please, be the *Aristotles* in Christian Philosophy: and let us have a Reverent esteem of Them and their Writings, as they deserve; and not be too rash in concluding, that Persons of so eminent, both Learning, and Sanctity, should maintain any Erroneous, or vain Opinions, especially in a matter of so great Importance: Yet notwithstanding are we bound withal to remember, that they were but Men, and that their Memory, Understanding, or Judgment, might sometimes fail them; and therefore consequently, that we are to examine their Writings, by those Principles from whence they draw their Conclusions; and not to sit down upon their Bare Assertions, till such time as we have discovered them to be True. If I were, to speak of any other Persons than of the Fathers, I should not add any thing more, to what hath been already said, it having been already, in my judgment, clearly enough proved, that they are not of themselves of Authority enough, to oblige us necessarily to follow their Opinions. But seeing the Question here is, touching these great Names, which are so highly honoured in the Church; to the end that no man may accuse us of endeavouring to rob them of any of the Respect which is due unto them, I hold

*Aristot. in Ethic. l. 1. c. 6.
 ἡμεῖς οὐ τοῖς
 φίλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
 περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.*

hold it necessary to examine this business a little more exactly, and to make it appear, by considering the thing it self, that they are of no more Authority, neither in Themselves, nor in respect of Us, than hath been already by Us attributed unto them.

CHAP. II.

Reason 2. That the Fathers themselves testifie against themselves, that they are not to be believed Absolutely, and upon their Own bare Word, in what they deliver in matters of Religion.

THere is none so fit to inform us, what the Authority of the Writings of the Ancients is, as the Ancients themselves, who in all Reason must needs know this better than we: Let us therefore now hear, what they testifie in this Particular; and if we do indeed hold them in so high Esteem, as we make profession of, let us allow of their Judgment in this particular, attributing neither more nor less unto the Ancients, than they Themselves require at our hands. St. *Augustine*, who was the Principal Light of the Latine Church, being entred into a Contestation with St. *Hierome*, touching the Interpretation before-mentioned, of the second Chapter of the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the *Galatians*; - and finding himself hardly pressed, by the Authority of six, or seven Greek Writers, which were urged against him by the other; to rid his hands of them, he was fain to make open profession, in what account he held that sort of Writers:

* *August. Ep. ad Hier. quæ est 19. T. 2. fol. 14. Ed. Paris. 1579. & inter Op. Hier. 97. T. 2. p. 551.* Ego enim fateor Caritati tuæ, solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem, honoremque; deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissimè credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis, quod videatur Contrarium Veritati, nihil aliud quam mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assequutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate, doctrinaque; præpollent, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi, vel per illos Autores Canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod à vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliquid aliter existimo: prorsus inquam, non te arbitror sic legi libros tuos velle, tanquam Prophetarum vel Apostolorum, de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est.

so rightly understood Him. But as for all other Writers, how Eminent soever they are, either for Sanctity, or Learning, I read them so as not presently to conclude, whatsoever I there find, to be True, because They have said it; but rather, because they convince me, either out of the said Canonical Books of Scripture, or else by some Probable Reason, that what they say is True. Neither do I think, Brother, that thou thy self art of any other Opinion: that is to say, I do not believe that thou expectest that we should read thy Books, as we do those of the Prophets, or Apostles; of the Truth of whose Writings, as being exempt from all Error, we may not in any wise doubt. And having afterwards opposed some other the like Authorities, against those alledged by St. Hierome, he addeth, That he had done so,

* *Id. ibid.* Quanquam, sicut paulò antè dixi, tantummodo Scripturis Canonicis hanc ingeniam debeam servitutem, qua eas solas ita sequar, ut conscriptores earum nihil in eis omnino errasse, nihil fallaciter posuisse non dubitem.

* I confess (saith he) to thy Charity, that I only owe to those Books of Scripture, which are now called Canonical, that Reverence and Honour, as to believe stedfastly, that none of their Authors ever committed any Error in writing the same. And if by chance I there meet with any thing, which seemeth to contradict the Truth, I presently think that certainly either my Copy is Imperfect, and not so Correct as it should be; or else, that the Interpreter did not so well understand the Words of the Original: or lastly, that I my self have not

* notwithstanding that to say the truth, he accounted the Canonical Scriptures only to be the Books, to which (as he said before) be owed that ingenuous

genious Duty, as to be fully persuaded, that the Authors of them never erred, or deceived the Reader in any thing. This Holy man accounted this Advice to be of so great Importance, as that he thought fit to repeat it again, in another place; and I must intreat my Reader, to give me leave to set down here the whole Passage at length. * *As for these kind of Books* (saith he, speaking of those Books which We Write, not with Authority of Commanding, but only out of a Design of exercising our selves, to benefit others;) *we are so to read them, as not being bound necessarily to believe them, but as having a liberty left us, of judging of what we read.* Yet notwithstanding, that we may not quite shut out these Books, and deprive posterity of the most profitable labour of exercising their Language, and Stile, in the handling and treating of hard Questions; we make a Distinction betwixt these Books of Later Writers, and the Excellency of the Canonical Authority of the Old and New Testament; which having been confirmed in the Apostles time, hath since by the Bishops, who succeeded them, and the Churches, which have been propagated throughout the World, been placed as it were upon a high Throne, there to be revered and adored, by every Faithful and Godly Understanding. And if we

chance

* *Id. l. 1. c. 1. contr. Faust. c. 5.* Quod genus litterarum, non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate legendum est. Cui tamen ne intercluderetur locus, & adimeretur posteris ad difficileis questiones tractandas atque versandas, linguarum, ac styli saluberrimus labor, distincta est à postreiorum libris excellentia Canonica Auctoritatis Veteris & Novi Testamenti; quæ Apostolorum confirmata temporibus, per successiones Episcoporum, & propagationes Ecclesiarum, tanquam in sede quadam sublimiter constituta est, cui serviat omnis fidelis, & pius intellectus. Ibi si quid velut absurdum moverit, non licet dicere, Auctor hujus libri non tenuit veritatem: sed, aut Codex mendosus est, aut Interpres erravit, aut tu non intelligis. In Opusculis autem posteriorum, quæ libris innumerabilibus continentur, sed nullo modo illi sacratissimæ Canoniarum scripturarum excellentiæ coquantur, etiam in quibuscumque eorum invenitur eadem veritas, longè tamen est impar auctoritas. Itaque in eis, si qua forte propterea dissonare putantur à vero, quia non, ut dicta sunt, intelliguntur, tamen liberum ibi habet lector, auditorve judicium, quo vel approbet quod placuerit, vel improbet quod offenderit: & ideo cuncta ejusmodi, nisi vel certa ratione, vel ex illa Canonica auctoritate defendantur, ut demonstreretur sive omnino ita esse, sive fieri potuisse, quod vel disputatur ibi, vel narratum est, si cui displicuerit, aut credere voluerit, non reprehenditur.

chance here to meet with any thing that troubleth us, and seemeth Absurd, we must not say, that the Author of the Book was ignorant of the truth; but rather, that either our Copy is false, or the Interpreter is mistaken in the sense of the place; or else, that we understand not him aright. And as for the Writings of those other Authors, who have come after Them, the number whereof is almost infinite, though coming very far short of this most sacred Excellency of the Canonical Scriptures; a man may sometimes find in them the very same truth; though it shall not be of equal Authority. And therefore if by chance we here meet with such things as seem contrary to the Truth, by reason perhaps of our not understanding them only; we have our Liberty, either in reading, or bearing the same, to approve of what we like, and to reject that which we conceive not to be so right. So that except all such passages be made good, either by some certain reason, or else by the Canonical Authority of the Scriptures; and that it be made appear, that the thing asserted either really is, or else at least, that it might have been; he that shall reject, or not assent to the same, ought not in any wise to be reprehended. And thus far have we S. Augustine testifying on our side, (as well here, as in many other places, which would be too long to be inserted here;) that those opinions which we find delivered by the Fathers in their Writings, are grounded, not upon their bare Authority, but upon their Reasons; and, that they bind not our belief otherwise, than so far forth as they are consonant either to the Scripture, or to Reason; and that they ought to be examined by the one, and the other, as proceeding from persons that are not infallible, but possibly may have erred.

So that it appears from hence, that the course which is at this day observed in the World, is not of sufficiency enough for the discovery, and demonstration of the truth. For, we are now in doubt, suppose, what the sense and meaning is of such a piece of Scripture. Here shall you presently have the judgment of a Father brought, upon the said

Id. T. 2. Epist.
48 ep. 111. T.
3. l. r. 3 de Tri-
nit. c. 2. l. 3.
prefat. l. 5 c. 1.
T. 7. l. 2 contr.
Grescon. Gram.
c. 31. Crc. 32.
l. 2. de Bapt.
contr. Don. c. 3.
l. 3. de Peccat.
mer. & rem. c.
n. c. 1. de Nat.
& grat. c. 61.
l. 4. contr. de
ep. Pelag. c. 8.
l. 1. contr. Ju-
lian. c. 2. l. de
bon. persever.
c. 21.

said place; quite contrary to the Rule *S. Augustine* giveth us, who would have us examine the Fathers by the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures by the Fathers. Certainly, according to the judgment of this Father, the Protestant, though a Passage as clear and express, as any of the Canons of the Council of *Trent*, should be brought against him, out of any of the Fathers, ought not to be blamed, if he should answer, that he cannot by any means assent unto it, unless the truth of it be first proved unto him, either by some certain Reason, or else by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures; and that then, and not till then, he shall be ready to assent unto it. So that according to this Account, we are to alledge, not the Names, but the Reasons of Books; to take notice, not of the Quality of their Authors, but of the Solidity of their Proofs; to consider what it is they give us; and not the face, or hand of him that gives it us; and, in a word, to reduce the dispute, from Persons, to Things. And *S. Jerome* also seemeth to commend unto us this manner of Proceeding, where in the Preface to his second Commentary upon *Hosea*, he hath these words: *Then* (saith he, that is, after the Authors of Books are once departed this life) *we judge of their worth, and parts only; not considering at all the Dignity of their Name: and the Reader hath regard only to what he reads, and not to the Author whose it is. So that whether be were a Bishop, or a Lay-man; a General and a Lord; or a common Souldier, and a Servant; whether he lie in Purple and in Silk; or in the vilest, and coarsest rags; he shall be judged, not according to his degree of honour, but according to the merit and worth of his Works.* Now he here speaks either of matter of Right, or of Fact: and his meaning is, that either we ought to take this course in our judgments; or else it is a plain Affirmation, that it is the practice of the World so to do. If his words are to be taken in

the

Hier. Com. 2. in Oseam, Prefat. Tunc sine nominum dignitate, sola judicantur ingenia; nec considerat, qui lecturus est, cujus, sed quale sit quod lecturus est, sive sit Episcopus, sive sit laicus, Imperator & Dominus, miles & servus, aut in purpura, & serico, aut vilissimo panno jaceat, non honorum diversitate, sed operum merito judicabitur.

the first sense, he then clearly takes away all Authority from the bare Names of Writers, and so would have us to consider the Quality only, and weight of their Writings, that is to say, their Reasons, and the force of the Arguments they use. If he be to be understood in the second sense, he seemeth not to speak truth, it being evident, that the ordinary course of the world is, to be more taken with the titles and names of Books, than with the things therein contained. But supposing however, that this was S. *Hieroms* meaning; we may notwithstanding very safely believe, that he approveth of the said course; for as much as having this occasion of speaking of it, he doth not at all reprehend it. If therefore thou hast any mind to stand to his judgment, lay me aside the Names of *Augustine*, and of *Hierome*, of *Chrysostome*, and of *Cyrl*; and forget for this once the Rochet of the first, and the Chair of the second, together with the Patriarchal Robe of the two last: and observe what they say, and not what they were: the ground and reason of their opinions; and not the dignity of their persons. But that which makes me very much wonder, is, that some of those who have been the most conversant in Antiquity, should trouble themselves in stuffing up their Books with declamatory expressions, in praise of the Authors they produce; not forbearing to recount to you so much as the Nobleness of their Extraction, the choiceness of their

Card. Perron,
of the Eucha-
rist. Aut. 20.

* *Hier. ep 62.*
ad Theoph. A-
lex. Scio me
aliter habere
Apostolos; a-
liter reliquos
tractatores:
illos semper
vera dicere;
istos in qui-
budam, ut
homines, et
rare.

Education, the gallantry of their Parts, the eminency of their See, and the greatness of their State. This manner of writing may perhaps suit well enough with the precepts of Rhetorick: but sure I am, that it agreeth ill enough with S. *Hierom's* rule, which we gave you a little before. But let us now observe, out of some other more clear, and express passages of his, what the judgment of this great *Aristarchus*, and Censor of Antiquity hath been, touching this Point. * *I know* (saith he, writing to *Theophilus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*) that I place the Apostles in a distinct rank from all other Writers: for as
for

for them, they always speak truth: but as for those other, they erre sometimes, like Men as they were. What could he have said more expressely, in confirmation of our Assertion before laid down? * There are others

(saith he) both Greeks, and Latins; who have erred also in Points of Faith; whose Names I need not here set down, lest I might seem to defend Origen by the Errors of others, rather than by his own Worth. How then

can we confide in them; unless we examine their Opinions

by their Reasons? * I shall (saith the same Author) read Origen, as I read others; because I shd be like manner as they have done. And in another place, speaking in general of Ecclesiastical Writers, that is, of those

which we now call Fathers, and of the Faults and Errors that are found in their Books; ^b It may be

(saith he) that either they have erred out of meer ignorance, or else, that they wrote in some other Sense than we understand them; or, that their Writings have by degrees been corrupted, through the ignorance of the Transcribers; or else, before the appearing of that impudent Devil Arius in the World, they let some things fall from them innocently, and not so warily as they might have done, and such as can hardly escape the Cavils of wrangling Spirits. Which Passage of his is a very excellent and remarkable one, and containeth in it a brief, yet a clear and full Justification of the greatest part of what we have hitherto delivered in this our Discourse. Do but think therefore with how much circumspection we are to read and to weigh these Authors, and how careful we ought to be in examining, in their Books, whether there be not either some fault committed by the Transcriber, or some obscurity in the Expression, or some negligence in the Conception, or lastly, some error in the Proposition. In another place, having set down the Opinions

* Id. ep. 65. ad Pamm. & Oceanum. Breaverunt in fide alii, tum Graeci, quam Latini, quorum non necesse est profertre nomina, ne videamur eum, non sui merito, sed aliorum errore defendere.

* Id. ibid. Sic cum legam, ut ceteros; quia sic erravis, ut ceteri.

^b Hier. l. 2. Apol. contr. Augg. Fieri enim potest, ut vel simpliciter erraverint, vel alio sensu scripserint, vel à Librariis imperitiis eorum paulatim scripta corrupta sint; vel certe antiqua in Alexandria quasi demonum meridianum. Arius nasceretur, innocenter quodam, & minus caute loquuti sunt, & quae non possint perverforum hominum calumniam declinare.

nions of several Authors, touching a certain Question that had been proposed unto him, that so the Reader might make choice of the best; he gives this Reason of

Id. ep. 15. 2. Nec juxta Pythagoræ discipulos, præjudicata doctoris opinio, sed doctoris ratio ponderanda est.

his so doing: *Because (saith he) we ought not, according to the Example of Pythagoras, his Scholars, to have an eye to the Prejudicated Opinion of the Proposer, but rather the Reason of the Thing Proposed: Which words of his do sufficiently confirm the Sense which we have formerly given of that Passage of his, in the Preface to his second Commentary upon Hosea. He presently afterwards adds;*

Id. ibid. Meum propositum est, antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quæ bona sunt, & à fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non recedere.

Id. ep. 76. ad Tranquil. Ego Origenum propter Eruditionem sic interitum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium, & nonnullos Ecclesiasticos scriptores, Græcos præter, & Latinos, ut bona eorum eligamus, vitæmûsq; contraria; juxta Apostolum dicentem, Omnia probate; quod bonum est tenete.

Hier. ep. 19. ad Paulin. B. Cyprianus de scripturis divinis nequaquam differuit. Inchyro Victorinus martyrio coronatus, quod intelligit, eloqui non potest. Lactantius quinam tam nostra confirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit. Arnobius inæqualis, & nimis est, & absque operis sui partitione confusus. S. Hilarius Gallicano cothurno attollitur, & longis interdum periodis involvitur, & à lectione simpliciorum fratrum procul est.

My purpose is to read the Ancients, to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good, and not to depart from the Faith of the Catholic Church; according to the Rule which he hath commended unto us, in his LXXVI Epistle, where he adviseth us to read Origen, Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinaris, and some other of the Ecclesiastical Writers; but with this caution, that we should make choice of that which is good; but take heed of embracing that which is not so; according to the Apostle, who bids us prove all things, but hold fast onely that which is good. And this is the course he constantly takes, censuring, with the greatest Liberty that may be, the Opinions and Expositions of all those who went before him. He gives you freely his Judgment of every one of them; affirming, That Cyprian scarcely touched the Scriptures at all; that Victorinus was not able to express his own Conceptions; that Lactantius is not so happy in his Endeavours of proving our Religion, as he is in overbrowning that of others; that Arnobius is very uneven and confused, and too luxuriant; that S. Hilary is too swelling,

ling, and incumbered with too long Periods. I shall not here set before you what he saith of Origen, Theodorus, Apollinaris, and of the Ebionites; whose professed Enemy he hath declared himself, and whom he reproveth very sharply upon all Occasions, whensoever they come in his way; and yet himself confesseth them all to have been Men of very great Parts: giving even Origen himself, who is the most dangerous Writer of them all, this Testimony; *That none but the ignorant can deny, but that, next to the Apostles, he was one of the greatest Masters of the Church.* But that I may not meddle with any, but such whose Names have never been cried down in the Church; do but mark how he deals with Rhetorius Augustodunensis, an Ecclesiastical Author: *There are* (saith he) *an infinite number of things in his Commentaries, which in my judgment, show very mean and poor: and a little after; He seemeth to have had so ill an Opinion of others, as to have a conceit, that no Man was able to judge of his Faults.* He taketh the same liberty also, in rejecting their Opinions and Expositions; and sometimes not without passing upon them very tart Girds too. He justifies the Truth of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, and findeth an infinite number of Faults in the Translation of the LXX, against almost the general consent not onely of the more Ancient Writers, but also of those too who lived in his own time, who all esteemed it as a Divine Piece. *He scoffs at the conceit of those Men who believed, that the LXX Interpreters, being put severally into Seventy distinct Cells, were inspired from above, in the Translation of the Bible; Let them keep* (saith he, speaking of his own Backbiters, by way of scorn) *with all my heart, in the Seventy Cells of the Alexandrian Pharos, for fear they should lose their Sails of their Ships, and be forced to bewail the loss of their Cordage.*

Hier. Prefat. in lib. de Nom. Hebr. Quem (Origenem) post Apostolos Ecclesiarum Magistrum nemo nisi imperitus negat.

Id ep. 133. ad Marcel. Innumeraabilia sunt, quæ in illius mihi Commentariis fordere visa sunt. Id. ibid. Sed tam male videtur existimasse de cæteris ut nemo possit de ejus erroribus judicare.

Hier. Prefat. in Pentateuch. ad Desid. Nescio quis primus Autor Septuaginta Cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo extruxerit.

Id. Comm. 10. in Ezech. Habiterunt in Septuaginta Cellulis Alexandrini Phari, ne vela perdant de navibus, & funiculum detrimenti suspirent.

As for their Expositions, he releseth them openly; whensoever they do not please him. Thus doth he find fault with the Exposition which is given by the greatest part of the Fathers, of the Word *Israel*; which they will have to signifie, *A Man seeing God*.^m Not-

^m Hier. Tract. Hebr. Quamvis igitur grandis Auctoritatis sint, & eloquentia, & ipsorum umbra nos opprimat, qui *Israel* vitum, sive mentem videntem Deum, transulerunt; nos magis Scripturæ, & Angeli, & Deus, qui ipsum *Israel* vocavit, auctoritate ducimur, quam cujuslibet eloquentiæ secularis.

withstanding that those who interpret it thus, are Persons of very great both Authority and Eloquence, and whose very shadow (saith he) is sufficient to bear us down; yet cannot we chuse but follow the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Angel, and of God, who gave this Name of *Israel*, rather than the Power of any Secular Eloquence, how great soever it be.

ⁿ Id. op. 146. ad Damas. Licet quidam superstitiosè magis, quàm verè, non considerantes textum Psalmi, ex Patris persona arbitrentur hæc intelligi.

And in his CXLVI Epistle, written to Pope Damasus, he saith, That there are some, who not considering the Text, conceive Superstitiously, rather than Truly, that these words, in the beginning of the XLIV Psalm, *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum*, My

heart is inditing a good matter, are spoken in the Person of the Father. And yet the greatest part of those who lived in the time of Arius, and a little after him, understood these words in the same sense.

It was likewise the General Opinion, in a manner, of all Men, That *Adam* was buried upon Mount Calvary, and in the very same place where our Saviour *Christ* was crucified.

^o Hier. in loc. Hebr. Euseb. Cy. Com. 4. in Mat.

And yet *S. Hierome* rejecteth this Opinion; and which is more; he makes himself merry with it, without any scruple at all. So likewise, there were some among the afore-named Ancient Fathers; who out of a Pious Affection which they bare to *S. Peter*, maintained;

^p Hilar. in Mat. Gen. 22.

That he denied not God, but Man; and that the sense of the Words of his Denial is, *I know not him to be a Man*.

^q Hier. Com. 4. in Mat. in c. 26.

For *I know* to be in God. The Intelligent Reader (saith the same *S. Hierome*) will easily perceive, how idle and frivolous a thing this is, to accuse our Saviour of guiltiness of

Hoc quam frivolum sit, prudens Lector intelligit, si defendunt Apostolum, ut Deum mendacium faciant, &c.

of a Lie, by excusing his Apostle. For, if S. Peter did not deny him, our Saviour must necessarily then have lied, when he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, &c. He takes the same liberty also in reprehending S. Ambrose, who understands by Gog, spoken of in the Prophet Ezechiel, the Nation of the Gothes: neither do those other Fathers scape his Lath; who pleasing themselves too much with their Allegories, take Bosra in Isaiab, for the Flesh, whereas it signifies a Fortrefs. I might here produce very many the like Passages; but these few shall now serve as a Taste onely: For who seeth not by this time, that these Holy Men took not the Fathers who went before them, for the Judges, or Arbitrators, touching the Opinions of the Church? and that they did not receive their Testimonies and Depositions, as Oracles; but reserved the Right, which S. Augustine alloweth to every Man, of examining them by the Rule of Reason, and of the Scripture. Neither are we to take any notice at all of S. Hierome, when he seems to except out of this number, the Writings of Aibauasius, and of S. Hilary; writing to Leta, and telling her, That her Daughter Paula might walk securely, and with firm footing, by the Epistles of the one, and the Books of the other; and therefore he counselleth her to take delight in these Mens Writings; forasmuch as in their Books, the Picty of Faith wavereth not: And as for all other Authors, she may read them; but rather to pass her judgment upon them, than to follow them. For, first of all, although perhaps there should be some Piece of a Father, that should have no Error at all in it, (as questionless there are many such) yet would not this render the Authority of the same Infal-
Id. Com. XI. in Ezech. in Prefat. Ambros. l. 2 de fid. ad Grat. Hier. in Esai. Comm. X.

ble. How many such Books are there, even of the Moderns, wherein neither the one Party, nor the other, hath been able to discover any the least Error in matter of Faith? And yet, I suppose, no Man will presently conclude from hence, that we ought to admit of these Authors as Judges of our Faith. A Man may there find
Hier. ep. 7. ad Lat. Illorum tractatibus, illorum delectetur ingenii, in quorum libris pietas fidei non vacillat. Ceteros sic legat, ut magis judicet, quam sequatur.
 perhaps

Baron. Annal.
an. 369. Sect.
24.

perhaps the same Truth, (as *S. Augustine* saith a little before;) but it will not be of equal Authority with that of the Canonical Books. Besides, as *Cardinal Baringius* hath observed, this last Passage of *S. Hierome* ought to be understood onely in the Point touching the Holy Trinity, concerning which, there were at that time great Disputes betwixt the *Catholicks* and the *Arians*: for otherwise, if his words be taken in a General sense, they will be found to be false, as to *S. Hilaries* particular, who hath had his failings in some certain things, as we shall see hereafter. In a word, although *S. Hierome* were to be understood as speaking in a General sense (as his words indeed seem to bear) yet might the same thing possibly happen to him here, which he hath observed hath oftentimes befallen to others; namely, to be mistaken in his Judgment. For we are not to imagine, that he would have us have a greater Opinion of him, than he himself hath of other Men. And *S. Augustine* told him, as we have before shewed, that he did not believe that he expected Men should judge any otherwise of him. And I suppose, we may very safely keep to *S. Augustine's* Judgment, and believe with him, that *S. Hierome* had never any intention that we should receive all his Positions as Infalible Truths; but rather, that he would have us to read and examine his Writings with the same freedom that we do those of other Men. And if we have no mind to take *S. Augustine's* word in this Particular, let us yet take *S. Hierome's* own, who in his second Commentary upon the Prophet *Habakkuk*, saith,

¹ *Hier. Com. 2. in Abac.* Si quis autem his sagaciora, & veriora repererit, illi magis explanationi præbete consensum.

² *Id. in Sophon.* Si quis autem magis verisimilia, & habentia rationem, quam à nobis sunt disserta, repererit, illius magis Lector auctoritate ducatur.

¹ And thus have I delivered unto you my sense in brief: but if any one produce that which is more exact and true, take his Exposition rather than mine. And so likewise upon the Prophet *Zephaniah*, he saith, ² We have now done our utmost endeavour, in giving an Allegorical Exposition of the Text; but if any other can bring

bring that which is more Probable, and agreeable to Reason, than that which we have delivered; let the Reader be swayed by his Authority, rather than by ours. And in another place he speaketh to the same purpose, in these words: * *This we have delivered according*

to the utmost of our poor Ability, and have given you a short touch of the divers Opinions, both of our own Men, and of the Jews; yet if any Man can give me a better and truer Account of these Things, I shall be very ready to embrace the same. Is this now, I would fain ask, to bind up our Tongues,

* *Hier. Com. in Zach. Hæc ut quivimus, ut vires ingenioli nostri ferre potuerunt, loquuti sumus, & Hebræorum, & nostrorum varias opiniones breviter perstringentes. Si quis melius, imo verius dixerit; & nos libenter melioribus acquiescimus.*

and our Belief, so, as that we have no further liberty of refusing what he hath once laid down before us, or of searching into the Reasons and Grounds of his Opinions? No, let us rather make use of that Liberty which they all allow us: let us hearken to them, but (as they themselves advise us) when what they deliver is grounded upon Reason, and upon the Scriptures. If they had not made use of this Caution, in the reading of those Authors who went before them, the Christian Faith had now been wholly stuffed up with the Dreams of an *Origen*, or an *Apollinarius*, or some other the like Authors: But neither the Excellency of the Doctrine, nor yet the Resplendency of their Holy Life, which no Man can deny to have shone forth very eminently in the Primitive Fathers, were able so to dazzle the eyes of those that came after them, as that they could not distinguish betwixt that which was Sound and True in their Writings, and that which was Trivial and False. Let not therefore the Excellency of those who came after them, hinder us either from passing by, or even rejecting their Opinions, when we find them built upon weak Foundations. You see they confess themselves, that this may very possibly be: we should therefore be lest utterly inexcusable, if after this their so charitable Admonition, we should still believe all they say,

¹ Ambros. l. 7. ep. 47. Ego enim beneficio annuero, si quis mea legent scripta dicat mihi, quo videatur moveri. Primum, quia & in iis quæ scio, falli possum. Multa autem prætereunt, multa quibusdam aliter sonant.

say, without examining any thing. ¹ I take it for a Favour (saith S. Ambrose) when any one that readeth my Writings, giveth me an account of what Doubts be there meeteth withal: First of all, because I may be deceived in those very things which I

know. And besides, many things escape us; and some things sound otherwise to some, than perhaps they do to me. I shall further here desire the Reader to take notice, how careful the Ancients were, in advising those who lived in their own time, to take a strict Examination of their Words: As for example, where Origen adviseth,

² Orig. Hom. 2. in Ezech. Quæso audientes, ut diligenter attendant, & accipiant gratiam Spiritus, de qua dictum est, discretio Spirituum; ut probati Trapetizæ facti, diligenter observent, quando falsus sim magister, quando vero prædicem, quæ sunt pietatis, ac veritatis.

² That his Auditors should prove whatsoever be delivered, and that they should be attentive, and receive the Grace of the Spirit, from whom proceedeth the discerning of Spirits; that so, as good Bankers, they might diligently observe, when their Pastor deceiveth them, and when he preacheth unto them that which is Pious and True. Cyrill likewise, in his Fourth Catechesis, hath these Words:

³ Cyrill. Hieros. Cateches. 4. Μη δὲ μοι πρὸ ταύτης σοὶ λέγουσι ἀπλῶς πίστευσις, ἵαν ᾧ ἀποδείξιν ᾧ κατὰ γρηγορίου ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῶν καὶ λέγει γρηγορίου. Ἡ σωτηρία δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ πίστει ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀποδείξει τοῦ θεῶν ἐστὶ γρηγορίου.

³ Believe me not (saith he) in whatsoever I shall simply deliver, unless thou find the things which I shall speak, demonstrated out of the Holy Scriptures: For the Conservation and Establishment of our Faith is not grounded upon the Eloquence of Language, but rather upon the Proofs that are brought out of the Divine Scriptures. If therefore

they would not have those who heard them speak *with* voice, to believe them in any thing, unless they had demonstrated the Truth of it out of the Scriptures, how much less would they have us now receive, without this Demonstration, those Opinions which we meet with in their Books, which are not onely mute, but corrupted, also, and altered so much, and so many several ways, as we have formerly shewed?

Certainly

Certainly when I see these Holy men on one side, crying out unto us, that they are Men subject to Errours; and that therefore we ought to consider, and examine what they deliver, and not take it all for Oracle: and then, on the other side, set before my eyes these Worthy Maxims. of the Ages following: to wit, * *That their Doctrine is the Law of the Church Universal; and, That we are bound to follow it; not only according to the sense, but according to the Bare Words also; and that we are bound to hold all, that they have written, even to the least tittle:* This representation, I say, makes me call to mind the History of Paul and Barnabas, to whom the *Lycanians* would needs render Divine Honour, notwithstanding all the resistance these Holy men were able to make; who could not forbear to rend their garments, through the Indignation they were filled with, to see that service paid to themselves, which was due to the Divine Majesty alone; running in amongst them, and crying out aloud; *Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are Men of like passions with you.* For, seeing that there is none but God, whose word is certainly and necessarily True: and, seeing that, on the other side, the Word, whereon we ground and build our Faith, ought to be such: who seeth not, that it is all one, as to invest Man with the Glory, which is due to God alone, and to place him in a manner in his Seat, if we make His Word the Rule and Foundation of our Faith, and the Judge of our Differences concerning It? I am therefore stedfastly of this Opinion, that if these Holy men could now behold from their blessed Mansions, where they now live in bliss on high with their Lord and Saviour, what things are acted here below, they would be very much offended with this False Honour, which men confer upon them, much against their Wills, and would take it, as a very great injury offer'd them; seeing that they cannot receive this Honour, but to the Prejudice and Diminution of the Glory of their Redeemer; whom they love a thousand times more, than Themselves. Or if, from out their Sepulchres, where the Re-

* *Serg. Patr. C. N. Mon. in ep. ad Cyr. Concil. VI. Συ(πατήρων) τὰ δόγματα αὐτῶν τῇ καθολικῇ καθεστῆκεν ἐκκλησίᾳ; Titm: πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνέσκη μὴ μόνον κατ' ἐννοίαν τοῖς τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἐπε- δαι λόγμα- σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κα- χρεῖσθαι φε- ραίς.*

liques of their Mortality are now laid up, they could but make us hear their sacred voice; they would. (I am very confident) most sharply reprove us for this Abuse, and would cry out in the words of *S. Paul*; *Sirs, why do ye these things? We also were Men, of like Passions with you.* But yet what need is there, either of ransacking their Sepulchers, and disturbing their Sacred Ashes; or, of calling down their Spirits from Heaven; seeing that their voice resoundeth loud enough, and is heard so plainly, in these very Books of theirs, which we so imprudently place in that seat, which is only due to the Word of God? We have heard, what the Judgment was of *S. Augustine*, and of *S. Hierome*, (the two most eminent Persons in the Western Church,) touching this Particular: let us not then be all afraid, having such examples to follow, to speak freely our Opinions. But now, before we go any further, I conceive it will be necessary, that we answer an Objection, that may be brought against us; which is, that *Athanasius*, *S. Cyrill*, and *S. Augustine* himself also, often times cite the Fathers. Besides, what some have observed, that the Fathers seldom entered into these Lists but when they were provoked by their Adversaries; I add further, that when we maintain, that the Authority of the Fathers is not a sufficient *Medium*, to prove an Article of Faith by; we do not thereby presently forbid either the reading, or the citing of them. The Fathers often quote the Writings of the Learned Heathens, the Oracles of the *Sibylls*, and Passages out of the Apocryphal Books. Did they therefore think, that these Books were of sufficient Authority to ground an Article of Faith upon? God forbid, we should entertain so ill an Opinion of them: Their Faith was grounded upon the Word of God: But yet to evidence the Truth more fully, they searched into Humane Records; and by this Inquiry, made it appear, that the Light of the Truth, revealed unto Them, had in some degree shot its beams also even into the Schools of Men, how Close, and Shady soever they had

had been. But, if they should have produced no other, but Humane Authority, they would never have been able to have brought over any one person to the Faith. But after they had received, by Divine Revelation, the Matter of our Faith; it was very wisely done of them, in the next place to prove, not the Truth, but the Clearness of It, by these little Sparks, which shot forth their light in the Spirits of Men. And for some the like Reason did *S. Augustine*, *Athanasius*, *Cyrill*, and many other of them, make use of Allegations out of the Fathers. For, after that each of these had grounded upon the Authority of Divine Revelation, the Necessity, and Efficacy of Grace, the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and the Union of the Two Natures in Christ; they then fell to producing of several Passages out of those Learned Men, who had lived before Them; to let men see, that this Truth was so clear in the Word of God, as that all that went before them had both seen and acknowledged the same: The Consideration whereof was both Pleasing, and Useful unto them. For what can more delight a Faithful Heart, than to find, that the chiefest and most Eminent Persons in the Church, had long since held the same Opinions, touching our Saviour Jesus Christ, and His Grace, that We now hold at this day? But yet it does not hence presently follow, that though these Holy men should have met with these Articles of our Faith, in the Writings of their Predecessours only, without finding any Foundation of them in the Canonical Scriptures, they would notwithstanding firmly have believed, and embraced the same, contenting themselves with the Bare Authority of their Predecessours. *S. Augustine* professeth plainly, that in such a Case they might better have rejected them, and not be blamed for so doing neither, than have received them, unless they would incur the imputation of being over Credulous. For, it is a point of too much Credulity, to believe any thing without Reason: and He further affirmeth, that where men speak without either Scripture, or Reason; their bare Authority is not

sufficient to oblige us to believe what they propose unto us. So that it hence appeareth, that Humane Testimonies are alledged, not to prove the Truth of the Faith, but only to shew the Clearness of it, after it is once well grounded. Now the Question at this day betwixt us, and the Church of *Rome*, is not concerning the Clearness of the Truth of the Articles they believe, and press upon the World: but it yet lies upon them to prove, even the very Ground, and Foundation of them. Shew me therefore (will a Protestant here say,) either out of some Text of Scripture, or else by some Evident Reason, that there is any such place as Purgatory; and that the Eucharist is not Bread; and, that the Pope is the Monarch, and Head of the Church Universal: and then, I shall be very glad to try, if for our greater comfort we may be able to find, in the Authors of the Third, or Fourth Century, these Truths embraced by the Fathers of those times. But, to begin with these, is to invert the Natural Order of things. We ought first to be assured, that the Thing is; before we make inquiry, whether it hath been believed or not. For, to what purpose is it to find, that the Ancients believed it, unless we find withal in their Writings, some Reason of this their Belief? And again on the other side, what harm is it to us, to be ignorant, whether Antiquity believed it or not; so long as we know, that the Thing is? And whereas there are some, who to establish the Supream Authority of the Fathers, alledge the Counsel which *Sisinnius*, a Novatian, and *Agellius*, his Bishop, gave of old to *Nectarius*, Archbishop of *Constantinople*, and by him to *Theodosius* the Emperours; which was, that they should demand of the *Arians*, whether, or not, they would stand to what the Fathers, who died before the breaking forth of their Heresie, had delivered, touching the Point debated betwixt them: this is hardly worth our consideration. For, this was a Trick only, devised by a subtil head, and which is worse by a Schismatick; and consequently to be suspected, as a Captious

*Sozomen. l. 7.
c. 12. Hist.
Eccles.*

Captious Propofal, purpofely made to entrap the Adverfe party ; rather than any free, and ingenuous way of Proceeding.

For, if this manner of Proceeding had been right, and good ; how came it to pafs, that among fo many Catholick Bithops as there were, none of them all advifed it ? How came it to pafs, that they were fo ignorant of the Weapons, wherewith the Enemies of the Church were to be encountred ? How came it about, that it fhould be propofed only by a young fellow, who was a Schifmatick, too ? And, if, it were approved of, as right, and good Counfel ; why did *Gregory Nazianzene*, *S. Bafil*, and fo many other of the Fathers, who wrote in that Age againft the *Arrians*, deal with them wholly, in a manner, out of the Scriptures ? And certainly thofe Holy men, befides their Chriftian Candor, which obliged them to this way of Proceeding, took a very wife courfe in fo doing. For, if this Controverfie had been to be decided by the Authority of Humane Writers, I know not how any man fhould have been able to make good that, which this Gallant fo confidently affirmeth, in the place aforecited ; namely, *That none of the Ancients ever faid, that the Son of God had any beginning of his Generation* ; confidering thofe many ftrange Paffages that we yet at this day meet with, touching this Particular, in the Books of the Firft Fathers : which is the reafon alfo why the *Arrians* alledged their Testimonies ; as we fee they do, in the Books of *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, and others of the Ancients, who wrote againft them. But what need we inlift fo long upon a Story, which is rejected by Cardinal * *Baronius*, as being an idle Tale deviſed by *Zozomene*, who was a *Novatian*, in favour of thofe of his own Sect. The Counfel of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, which he gives us in a certain little Difcourſe of his, which is very highly prifed by † *Gennad*. in *Catal inter Op. Hieron.* is accounted by many men much more worthy of our Confideration. For, having firft told us, that he

* *Zozomen. loc.*

citat. ἐν γὰρ

ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ὁσι πα-

λαιοὶ σωματι-

διον τῶ πατρὶ

τὸν ὅδον ἐν-

ρόντες, κα

ἐτόλμυσαν

εἰπεῖν ἐκ τι-

νος ἀρχῆς

τῶ γενέσθιν

αὐτὸν ἢ, εν.

* *Baron. An-*

nal. Ann. 383.

† *Gennad. in*

Catal inter Op.

Hieron.

ſpeaks

* Vincent. *Lirin. Common. cap. 39.*
 Sed eorum duntaxat Patrum sententia conferenda sunt, qui in fide & Communione Catholica Sanctè, Sapientèr, Constantèr viventes, docentes, & permanentes, vel mori in Christo fideliter, vel occidi pro Christo feliciter meruerunt. Quibus tamen hac lege credendum est, ut quicquid vel omnes, vel plures, uno eodemq; sensu manifestè, frequentèr, perseverantèr, velut quodam consentiente sibi magistrorum concilio, accipiendo, tenendo, tradendo, firmaverint, id proindubitato, certo, ratoq; habeatur: quicquid verò, quamvis ille Sanctus & doctus, quamvis Episcopus, quamvis Confessor, & Martyr, præter omnes, aut etiam contra omnes, senserit, id inter proprias, & occultas, & privatas opiniunculas à communis, publicæ, & generalis Sententiæ auctoritate secretum sit. *T. m. 4. Bibl. PP.*

speaks not of any Authors, * *Save only of such, who, having holily, wisely, and constantly lived, preached, and persevered in the Catholick Faith, and Communion, obtained the favour at length, either to dye faithfully in Christ, or else had the happiness of being crowned with Martyrdom, for Christs sake: he further addeth; That we are to receive, as undoubtedly true, certain, and definitive, whatsoever all the aforesaid Authors, or at least the greatest part of them, have clearly, frequently, and constantly affirmed, with an Unanimous Consent receiving, retaining, and delivering it over to others, as it were joynly, and making up all of them but one Common and Unanimous Council of Doctors.* But this Passage of his is so far from advancing the Supreme Authority, which some would attribute to the Fathers, in Matters of Faith; that on the contrary I meet with something in it, that makes me more doubt of their Authority, than I did before. For, I find by this mans discourse, that whatsoever his reason was, whether good or bad, he clearly appears to have had a very great desire of bringing all Differences in Religion, before the Judgment seat of the Fathers; and to the same end, he labours to prove, with the same eagerness and passion, that their Judgment is infallible in these Cases. But in the mean time I find him so perplexed and troubled in bringing out that which he would have, as that it appears sufficiently, that he saw well enough, that what he desired, was not so agreeable to Truth. For he hath so qualified his Proposition, and bound it in with so many Limitations, as that it is very probable, that if all these Conditions, which he here requires, were any where to be found,

we might then safely, perhaps, rely upon the Writings of the Fathers. But then on the other side, it is so very difficult a matter, to meet with such a Conjunction of so many several Qualifications, as that I very much doubt, whether we shall be ever able to enjoy this happiness, or not.

For first of all, for the persons of those men, whose Testimonies we alledge, he requireth that they should be such, as not only *Lived*; but also *Taught*: and which is more, *persevered* too, not only in the *Faith*, but in the *Communion* also of the Catholick Church. And then, for fear of being surpris'd, and taken at his Word, he comes over us with a new supply, and qualifies his words with a Restriction of Three *Adverbs*; and tells us, that they must have lived, and taught *Holily*, *Wisely*, and *Constantly*. But yet this is not all: for besides all this, they must have either died in Christ, or for Christ. So that if they *Lived*, but did not *Teach*; or if they both *Lived*, and *Taught*, but did not *Persevere*; or if they both *Lived*, *Taught*, and also *Persevered* in the *Faith*; but not in the *Communion*; or else in the *Communion*, but not in the *Faith* of the Catholick Church; or if they yet *Lived*, and *Taught* *Holily*, but not *Wisely*; or on the contrary, *Wisely*, but not *Holily*; and if, in the last place after all this, having performed all the Particulars before set down, they did not at last die either in Christ, or for Christ; they ought not according to this mans Rule, be admitted as Witnesses in this Case. Certainly he might have stopped here, and not have gone on still with his Modifications, as he doth, limiting the number and the words of these witnesses. For what Christian ever made scruple of receiving the Opinion of such a one, as had both *Holily*, *Wisely*, and *Constantly* lived, and taught in the *Faith*; and *Communion* of the Catholick Church? For you might hence very well rest assured, that whatsoever he had delivered, was True; and consequently, Fit to be believed: For how could he have taught *Wisely*, and *Constantly*,

stantly, if he had taught any False Doctrine? All that he here therefore promisseth us, is no more but this, That we should be sure not to be deceived, provided, that we believed no other Doctrines, save what were Holy, and True. This Promise of his is like that, which little Children are wont to make, when they tell you, that you shall never die, if you but eat always. Neither do I believe, that there is any man in the World so perverse, and wilful, as not readily to assent to such a man, as he assuredly knew to be so qualified, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* would here have him to be. But seeing that it is necessary, that we should first know the Quality of the Witness, before we hear him; it remaineth, in my judgment, that before we do so much as hear any of the Fathers, we ought to be first assured, that he was so qualified in every particular, according to *Vincentius* his Rule before layed down. Now I would very fain have any one inform me, how it is possible for us to know this? Who will assure us, that *Athanasius*, *St. Cyrill*, or what other Father you please, both Lived, Taught, Persevered, and Died Holily, Wisely, and Constantly in the Faith, and Communion of the Catholick Church? This can never be done, without a most Exact Inquiry made, both into their Life, and their Doctrines, which is an Impossible thing, considering the many Ages that have passed, from Their times, down to Ours. But yet supposing, that this were a Possible thing, it would nevertheless be of no use at all, as to this Authors purpose. For, He will have us hear the Fathers, to the end, that we may be by Them instructed in the Truth. Now, that we may be rightly informed, whether or no, they were so Qualified, as is before required; we ought necessarily to know first of all, what the Truth is. For how is it otherwise possible, that we should be able to judge, whether they have taught Holily, and Wisely? And if you were before-hand instructed in the Truth, what need have you then to hear Them, and to desire to be instructed in it, by Them? You may indeed

indeed make use of them, for the Illustration and Confirmation of that which you knew before; but you cannot learn any Truth from them, which you knew not before. And if you understand the *Maxime* before alledged in another sense, and take this *Wisdom*, and *Holiness*, this *Faith*, and *Communion* of the *Catholic Church*, therein mentioned, for a shadow onely, and the *Superficies* and Outward Appearance of these things, and for a Common and Empty Opinion, grounded meerly upon the Publick Voice of the People, and not upon an Exact Knowledge of the thing it self, it will then prove to be manifestly False; those Persons who have but the Outward Appearance only, and not the Reality of these Qualities, being no way fit to be admitted as Witnesses, much less to be receiv'd as the Supreme Judges, in the Point of the *Christian Faith*. So that this Proposition is either Impossible, if you understand it as the words seem to sound; or else it is False, if you take it in any larger sense. The like Exceptions may be made against those other Conditions, which he there further requires, touching the *Number* and the *Words* of these Witnesses: For he alloweth not the force of a Law to any thing, but what hath been delivered either by All, or else by the Greatest part of them. If he here, by All, mean All the Fathers that ever have been, or but the Greatest Part of them onely, he then puts us upon an Impossibility. For, taking the whole Number of Fathers that ever have been, the Greatest, and perhaps too, the Best Part of them have not written any thing at all: and among those that have written, how many hath Time devoured? and how many hath the False Dealings of Men either wholly suppressed, or else corrupted, and altered? It is therefore evidently Impossible to know, what the Opinions have been, either of All, or of the Greatest Part of the Fathers, in this sense. And if he restrains this *All*, and this *Greatest Part*, to those who appear at this day, either in their own Books, or in Historians, and the Writings of other

men; it will concern us then to inquire, Whether or no, by All, he means All promiscuously, without distinguishing them, by their several Ages wherein they lived; or else, Whether he would have us distinguish them into several *Classes*, putting together in the same Rank all those that lived in one and the same Age; and receiving for Truth whatsoever we find to have been held and confirmed by the greatest part of them. Now both these ways agree in this one thing; namely, that they render the Judgment of the *Christian Faith* wholly Casual, and make it depend upon divers and sundry Accidents, which have been the Cause of the Writings of the Fathers being either preserved, or lost. For, put the case that *Vincentius* should have cleared, by this excellent course of his, some Point or other, which had been controverted; he must have thanked the Fire, the Water, the Moths, or the Worms, for having spared those Authors which he made use of, and for having consumed all those other that wrote in favour of the Adverse Party: for otherwise he should have been an Heretick. And if we should decide our Differences in Matters of Faith after this manner, we should do in a manner as he did, who gave Judgment upon the Suits of Law that came before him, by the Chances he threw with Three Dice. Do but imagine now, what an endless labour it would be, for a Man either to go and heap up together, and run over all the Authors that ever have written, one with another; or else to distinguish them into their several Ages they wrote in, and to examine them by Companies. And do but imagine again, what satisfaction a Man should be able to get from hence; and where we should be, in case we should find (as it is possible it may sometimes so fall out, as we shall shew hereafter) that the Sense and Judgment of this *Greatest Part* should prove to be either contrary to, or perhaps besides the Sense and Meaning either of the Scriptures, or of the Church. And again, how senseless a thing were it to make the Suffrages of Equal Authority,

of Persons that are so Unequal themselves, either in respect of their Merit, Learning, Holy Life, and Soundness of Faith: and that a *Rheticus*, whom *S. Hierome* censured so hardly a little before, should be reckoned Equal with *S. Augustine*; or a *Philastrius* be as good a Man as *S. Hierome*? There is perhaps among the Fathers such a One, whose Judgment is of more weight than a Hundred others; and yet forsooth will this Man have us to make our *Doubles*, and our *Sow*, to go for as much as our *Crowns* and *Pissols*. And lastly, What reason in the World is there, that although perhaps the Persons themselves were equal in all things, we should yet make their Words also of equal force, which are oftentimes of very different and unequal Authority; some of them having been uttered, as it were, before the Bar, the Books having been produced, both Parties heard, and the whole Cause throroly examined: and the other perhaps having been cast forth by their Authors at all adventure, as it were, either in their Chamber, or else in Discourse walking abroad, or else perhaps by the By, while they were treating of some other Matter? But our Friend here, to prevent in some sort this later Inconvenience, requires, that the Word of this *Greatest Part*, which he will allow to be fit to be Authorised, must have been uttered by them Clearly, Often, and Constantly; and then, and not till then, doth he allow them for Certain and Undoubted Truth. And now you see he is got into another Hold. For I would very fain be informed, how it is possible for us to know whether these Fathers, which we thus have called out of their Graves, to give us their Judgment touching the Controversies in Religion, affirmed those things which we find in their Writings, Clearly, Often, and Constantly, or not? If in this his pretended Council of Doctors, you will not allow the Right of giving their Suffrage to those of whom it may be doubted, that they either expressed themselves oblcurely, or gave in their Testimonies but

seldom, or have but weakly maintained their own Opinion; I pray you tell me, whom shall we have left at last, to be the Judges in the Decision of our present Controversies? As for the Apostles Creed, and the Determinations of the Four First General Councils, (which are assented unto, and approved of by all the Protestant Party,) I confess we may, by this way of Trial, allow them as Competent Judges in these Matters. But as for all the rest, it is evident, by what hath been delivered in the First Part of this Treatise, that we can never admit of them, if they are thus to be Qualified, and to have all the afore-mentioned Conditions. We may therefore very well conclude, That the Expedient here proposed by this Author, is either Impossible, or else not so safe to be put in practice; so that I shall rather approve of S. *Augustine's* Judgment, touching the Authority of the Fathers. I should not have insisted so long upon the Examination of this Proposal of his, had I not seen it to have been in so high Esteem with many Men, and indeed with some of the Learned too. For in earnest, after S. *Augustine* and S. *Hierome* have delivered their Judgments, it matters not much what this Man shall have believed to the contrary. But yet, before we finish this Point, let us a little examine this Author, both by S. *Augustine's*, and by his own Rule before laid down. S. *Augustine* thinks us not bound to believe the Saying of any Author, except he can prove the Truth of it unto us, either by the Canonical Scriptures, or else by some Probable Reason. What Text of Scripture, or what Reason hath this Man alledged, to prove the Truth of what he hath proposed? So that, whatsoever his Opinion be, he must not take it amiss, if, according to the Advice and Practice of S. *Augustine*, we take leave to dissent from him: especially, considering we have so many Reasons to reject That, which he without any Reason given, would have us to receive. And thus you see, that according to the Judgment of S. *Augustine*, the

Perron, Cassander, &c.

the Saying of this *Vincemius Lirinensis*, although you should reckon him among the most Eminent of the Fathers, doth not at all oblige us to give our Assent unto it. And yet you will find, that his Testimony would be yet of much less force and weight, if you but examine the Man by his own Rule. For, according to him, we are not to hearken to the Fathers, except they both Lived and Taught Holily and Wisely, even unto the hour of their Death. Who is there now that will pass his word for him, that he himself was one of this number? Who shall assure us, that he was not either an Heretick himself, or at least a Favourer of Hereticks? For, is it not evident enough, that he favoured the *Semipelagians*, who at that time swarmed in France, railing against the very Name and Memory of S. Augustine; and who were condemned by the whole Church? Who may not easily see this, by his manner of Discourse in his ^a *Commonitorium*, tending this way; where he seems to intimate unto us under hand, That *Prosper* and *Hilary* had unjustly slandered them; and that Pope ^b *Celestine*, who also wrote against them, had been misinformed? And may not he also be strongly suspected to have been the Author of those *Objections* made against *Prosper*, which are called, ^c *Objectiones Vincentianæ*, *Vincemius's Objections*? The great Commendations also which are given him by ^d *Gennadius*, very much confirm this suspicion; it being clear, that this Author was of the same Sect, as appears plainly by the great account he makes of *Ruffinus*, a Priest of *Aquileia*, who was the Grand Patriarch of the *Pelagians*; saying of him, That he was not the least part of the Doctors of the Church: Tacitely also taxing S. *Hierome*, his Adversary, and calling him, A Malicious Slanderer; as also by the Judgment which he gives of S. *Augustine*, who was *Flagellum Pelagianorum*. The Scourge of the *Pelagians*, passing this intolent Censure upon him, and saying, ^e *That in speaking so much, it had hapned to him, what supra.*

^a *Vinc. Lirin. in Comm. 2. c. 43.*

^b *Celestin. apud Aug. l. 2. contr. Pelag. & Celest. c. 3.*

^c *Prosper. Resp. ad Obje. Vinc.*

^d *Gennad. in Catal. in Ruff. inter Op. Hier.*

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Prov. 10. 19. the Holy Ghost hath said, by Solomon; so wit, That in the multitude of words, there wanteth not sin. So that I cannot sufficiently wonder at the Boldness of Cardinal Perron, who when he hath any occasion of alledging this Author, ordinarily calleth him *Saint Vincent de Lerius*, *Saint Vincent of Lerius*; thus, by a very ill example, Caponizing a Person who was strongly suspected to have been an Heretick. Since therefore he was such a one, why should any one think it strange, that he should so much cry up the Judgment and Opinions of the Fathers; seeing that there is no Man but knows, that the *Pelagians* and *Semipelagians* had the better of it, by the citing Their Authorities, and laboured by this means to bear down *S. Augustine's* Name; and all this forsooth, only by reason that the Greatest Part of the Fathers, who lived before *Pelagius* his time, had delivered themselves with less caution than they might have done, touching those Points which were by him afterwards brought into Question; and many times too in such strange Expressions, as will very hardly be reconciled to any Orthodox Sense? Yet notwithstanding, should we allow this *Vincentius* to have been a Person who was thus Qualified, and to have had all those Conditions which he requirerth in a Man, to render him capable of being hearkned to in this Particular; what weight, I would fain know, ought this Proposal of his to carry with it, which yet is not found any where, in the mouth, of any of all those Fathers who went before him; who is also so strongly contradicted, both by *S. Augustine*, and *S. Hierome*, as we have seen in those Passages before alledged out of them; and who, besides, is full of Obscure Passages, and Inexplicable Ambiguities. So that, *How Learned and Holy a Man soever he might be, in the best manner a Bishop, Confessor, or Martyr*, (which yet he was not) this Proposal of his (according to his own Maxims) ought to be excluded from the Authority of Publick Determinations, and to be accounted of only as this very Particular Bi-

Vincent. Lirin.
Common. l. c.
39. ubi supra.

vate Opinion. Let us therefore in this Business rather follow the Judgment of *Seduligustine*, which is grounded upon evident Reason; a Person whose Authority (when-ever it shall be questioned) will be found to be Incomparably Greater than *Vincennius Lirinensis* his: and let us not henceforth give any Credit to any Sayings or Opinions of the Fathers, save only such, the Truth where-of they shall have made appear Evidently unto us, either by the Canonical Books of Scripture, or else by some Probable Reason.

C H A P. III.

Reason III. That the Fathers have Written after such a manner, as that it is clear, that when they Wrote, they had no intention of being our Judges in Matters of Religion. Some few Examples of their Mistakes and Oversights.

Whoever will but take the pains diligently to consider the Fathers manner of Writing, he will not desire any other Testimony for the proof of this Truth. For, the very Form of their Writings witnesseth clear enough, that in the greatest part of them they had no intention of delivering such Definitive Sentences as were to be Obliging, meerly by the Single Authority of the Mouth which uttered them : but their purpose onely was, rather to communicate unto Us their own Meditations upon divers Points of our Religion ; leaving us free to our own Liberty of Examining them, and to approve, or reject the same, according as we saw good. And thus hath S. Hierome expressly delivered his Mind, as we shewed before, where he speaks of the Nature and Manner of Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures. And certainly, if they had had any other Design or Intention, they would never have troubled themselves, as they ordinarily do, in gathering together the several Opinions of other Men. This Diligence, I confess, is Laudable in a *Teacher* ; but it would be very Ridiculous in a *Judge*. Their Stile also should then be quite of another kind, than now it is : and those Obscurities which we have observed in the Former Part of this Treatise, proceeding either from the Rhetorical Ornaments, or the Logical Subtilties which they made

made use of, should have no place here. For, what use would there be of any such thing in pronouncing a Sentence of Judgment, or indeed, in giving ones bare Testimony only to any thing? But that which makes the Truth of this our Assertion, more clearly to appear than all the rest, is, the little care and diligence that they took, in compiling the greatest part of these Writings of theirs, which we now would so very fain have to be the Rules of our Faith. If these men, who were endued with such exquisite sanctity, had had any intention of prescribing to Posterity, a true and perfect Tenor and Rule of Faith; is it probable that they would have gone carelessly to work, in a business of so great importance? Would they not rather have gone upon it with their Eyes opened, their Judgments settled, their Thoughts fixed, and every Faculty of their Soul attentively bent upon the business in hand; for fear, lest that in a business of so great weight as this, something might chance to fall from them, not so becoming their own Wisdom, or so suitable to the Peoples advantage? A Judge, that had but never so little Conscience, would not otherwise give sentence concerning the Oxen, the Field, and the Gutters of *Titus* and *Marius*. How much more is the same Gravity and Deliberation requisite here, where the Question is touching the Faith, the Souls, and the Eternal Salvation of all Mankind? It were clearly therefore the greatest injury that could be offered to these Holy Persons, to imagine, that they would have taken upon them to have passed Judgment in so weighty a Cause as this, but with the greatest care and attention that could be. Now it is very evident on the other side, that in very many of those Writings of theirs, which have come down to our hands, there seemeth to be very much negligence, or, to speak a little more tenderly of the business, security at least, both in the Invention, Method, and Elocution. If therefore we tender the Reputation either of their Honesty or Wis-

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dom, we ought rather to say, that their design in these Books of theirs, was not, to pronounce definitively upon this Particular; neither are their Writings judicary Sentences, or final Judgments, but are rather Discourses of a far different Nature, occasioned by diverse emergent Occurrences; and are more or less elaborate, according to the Time, Judgment, Age, and Disposition they were of when they wrote them. Now although this want of diligence and of deliberation, appears of it self evidently enough to any man, that readeth the Fathers, but with the least attention that may be; yet notwithstanding that I may not leave this Assertion of mine only said, and not proved at all, I shall here give you some few Instances for a taste only;

First of all, there are very many Pieces, among the Works of the Fathers, which were written in haste; and some too, which were meer Extemporary Discourses, and such, as in all probability the Authors of them themselves would have found many things therein, which would have required correction, had they had but leisure to have reviewed the same. St. Hierome in a Prologue of his to some certain Homilies of Origen, translated by him into Latine, saith that Origen made them and delivered them in the Church, *Ex tempore*. Touching these therefore, we are pretty well satisfied by St. Hierome; but how many in the mean time may there be of the like nature; among those so many Homilies of St. Chrysostome, St. Augustine, and others; all which we perhaps imagine to have been leisurely and deliberately studied, digested, and composed, which yet some sudden occasion might perhaps have put forth into the World upon an instant, and which were as soon born as conceived, and as soon published as made? St. Hierome often telleth us, that he dictated what he wrote in haste. Thus at the end of that long Epistle, which he wrote to Fabiola, he confesseth, *that he had dispatched it in one Evening only, when he was now setting sail for a journey.* And (which is a matter

*Hier. Prolog. in
Hom. Orig. in
Jes. Nau.*

*Hier. Ep. 128.
ad Fabiol. T. 3.
vid. 49 in Epi-
staph. Marcel.
Epist. 16. Extr.*

matter of much more importance) he saith in another place, † *That he had allotted himself but three days, for the translating of the three Books of Solomon; namely, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; which yet a man will hardly be able to read over, well, and exactly, in a month, by reason of the great difficulties he will there meet withal, as well in the Words and Phrases, as in the sense.* And yet for all this (if, what the Church of Rome pretends to, be true) this little Three-days Work of St. Hierome hath proved so fortunate, as to deserve, not only to be approved, and highly esteemed, but even Canonized also by the Council of Trent. Now whether the will of God be, that we should receive this Translation of his, as his pure Word, or not, I shall leave to those, who have a desire and ability to examine: However I dare confidently affirm, that St. Hierome himself never had any the least thought, or hope, that ever this Piece of his, should one day come to this honour, it being a thing not to be imagined, but that he would have taken both more time, and more pains in the thing, if ever he had either desired, or foreseen this. And thus it sometimes falls out, that Men have better Fortune, than ever they wished for. The same Author saith, at the end of another Piece of his, *That it was an Extemporary, and Running business,* as he there speaks, *and budled out so fast, as that his Tongue over-run the Hands of his Amanuenses, and by its Volubility and swiftness, in a manner confounded them and their Cifres, and Abbreviations.* He elsewhere excuseth in like manner another Work of his of no small importance neither, which is, his Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew; telling us, that by reason he had been straitned in time, he was constrained to dictate it in very great haste. And so likewise in the Preface to his Second Commentary, upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, he confesseth, that he wrote it in so great haste, as that he many times made as much of it, as came to a thousand lines in a day. In a word,

† *Id. Pref. in Prov. Itaque, &c. tridui opus nomini vestro concessi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum.*

Id. Ep. 47. Extemporalis est dictatio, & tanta ad lumen lucernulae facilitate profusa, ut Notariorum manus lingua præcurreret, & signa ac furta verborum volubilitas sermonum obrueret.

that I may not cloy the Reader with producing all the Instances of the same kind, that I could here bring in, it is his ordinary way of excusing himself either in his Prefaces, or else at the closing up of all his Discourses; to say, that either the Messenger was in haste; or some other design called him away; or else some other the like cause, whatsoever it were, was pretended. So that he never did any thing almost but in haste, and at full speed. Sometimes again, either some sickness had taken him off his meral; or else, the study of the Hebrew had let his Tongue grow rusty, or his Pen is not now able to reach its wonted pitch. Now I would fain know if so be he would have us receive all his sayings, as Oracles; and did not indeed desire us to excuse rather some things in him, and to forgive him some others; why should he use these speeches unto us? Who ever heard a Judge excuse himself, by reason of the shortness of the Time? Would not this be rather to accuse, than to excuse himself, by making such an Apology as this for himself; for as much as the giving of over-hasty Judgment, in any Cause, is a very great fault? And in my Opinion, the Fathers could not more clearly have deprived themselves of this Dignity of being our Judges, where-with we will invest them, whether they will or no, than by writing and speaking after this manner. But yet although *Sr. Hierome* had not given us these Advertisements, which yet ought to make us look well also to the rest of the Fathers; it appeareth evidently enough, out of their very Writings themselves, how little both time and diligence they bestowed, in composing the greatest part of them. For, otherwise how could so many small trifling Faults, both in History, Grammar, Philosophy, and the like, have escaped so great and Eminent Persons, who were so well furnished with all sorts of Literature? How happened it, that they so either forgot, or else mistook themselves, as they have sometimes done?

I shall here give the Reader some few examples of this kind; not to take off any thing from the Praises due to these Learned

Learned Persons; as if we thought them really to have committed these Errours out of ignorance; but rather to let the World see, that they did not alway make use of their whole Stock of Worth and Learning; and that sometimes they either could not, or else would not make use, but of some part only of their Knowledge, and of their Time: which is a most certain Argument, that they had never any intention of being received by us as Judges in Points of Faith. I shall not say much of their Errours in matter of Time, which are both very notable ones, and also very frequent with them: as, for example, where

Justin Martyr * saith, that *David lived Fifteen Hundred years before the Manifestation of the Son of God*; it being very apparent, by observing the Course of Times, derived along through Histories, both Sacred and Profane, that from the death of *David*, to the Birth of

our Saviour *Christ*, there passed no more than a Thousand and Twenty five, or Thirty years, or thereabout. So

likewise, when * *Epiphanius* writeth, that *Moses was but Thirty years old, when he brought forth the Children of Israel out of Egypt*: whereas the Scriptures clearly tell us, that he was Fourscore years of age: And so, where he affirmeth, * *That the taking of the City of Jerusalem, happened sixty five years after the Passion of our Saviour Christ*.

And truly the Chronology of all the Ancients is generally very strange, and for the most part very far wide of the truth; as hath been observed, and also proved at large, by all the Moderns, as *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, and others. But these matters are so very nice and ticklish, that oftentimes the most diligent Inquirers into them, may chance to mistake: I shall therefore forbear to insist any longer upon this Particular; and shall now lay before you some examples of another nature, and such as shall most evident-

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* *Just. Apol. 2.* Δαδ'δ' ἔτιος
χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας πέν
ἢ χεῖρον ἀνθρώπων γινόμε
νον σαυρωθῆναι, τὰ πενήν
μύητα ἔσθαι.

† *Epiphan. in Anser. num.*
112. ὁ δὲ Μαυρίας ἐν τῷ λ'.
αὐτῷ ἔτι πατὴρ τῷ ἱερ
δεῖν δάλασαν, ἀμα ἱε
ραρίταις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξ
εἶν. Vide *Petav. in eum lo*
cum.

* *Epiphan. lib. de Ponder. &*
Mens. num. 12 γήρον ἢ ἑ
ρήμωσι ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ
ἐξηκοσὸν πενήντα ἔτος τῆς
χρεῖς σαυρώσεως καὶ ἡμέρας
τινάς.

ly discover the security and negligence of these Authors.

Justin Martyr, speaking of the Translation of the LXX

Interpreters, saith, † that *Ptolemy*, King of

Egypt, sent his Ambassadors to *Herod* King

of *Judea*. Whereas the truth of the story

is, that he sent to *Eleazar* the High Priest,

Two hundred forty and odd years, before

Herod came to be King of *Judea*. * *Epi-*

phanus tells us, in two or three places, that

the *Peripateticks* and *Pythagoreans* were one

and the same Sect of Heathen Philosophers;

which yet were as much different one from

the other, as the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*

were, as every Child knoweth. The same

Author confidently affirmeth also, though

† *Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.*

Ὅτε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Αἴ-

γυπτικῶν βασιλεὺς βιβλιο-

δίκῃ κατεσκεύασε, &c.

πρὸς ἐπεμψὲς τοῦ Ἡρ-

οῦδου ἀξιῶν, διαπεμ-

φθῆναι αὐτῷ τὰς βίβλους

ἧς περὶ τούτων.

* *Eriphan. in Panar. lib. 1.*

& *Anacroph. pag. 127, 128,*

133.

† *Id. contr.*

Hares. lib. 1.

* *Id. Hares. 5.*

* *Id. Panar.*

lib. 1.

† *Id. Har. Ar-*

rian. 69. num.

* *Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.*

ὅς (Σίμων) ἐν τῇ πόλει

βασιλίδι Ῥώμης θάδε ἐνο-

μήθη καὶ ἀνδραίνῃ παρ' ὅ-

μῶν ὡς θάδε τετήμηται ὅς

ἀνδραὶς ἀνυγέμεται ἐν τῷ

τίθει πόλεως μεταξὺ ἧς

δύο γέφυραι ἔχουσιν ὁδόν.

ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῇ ταύτῃ

Σίμωνι δὲν στήλη

contrary to the faith of all Ancient History, † that

the several Sects and Opinion in Philosophy sprung

from some certain Mysteries brought to *Athens*, by

Orpheus, and others; and, that the *Stoicks* believed

the *Immortality*, and *Transmigration* of Souls; both

which are as false, the one as the other: and likewise * that

Nebuchadonosor sent a Colony, into the Country about

Samaris, after the taking of *Hierusalem*; whereas in

truth, it was *Salmanassar*, who had so done, long before

the others time. What can you think of him, when you

find him mistaken in such things, as happened not many

years before he was born: as namely, when he says † that

* *Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.*

when he relates the story of *Meletius*, and his

Schism, clean otherwise than the Truth of

it was? *Justin Martyr* likewise assures us,

for a certain Truth, * that in the Reign of

the Emperour *Claudius*, there was erected at

Rome a Statue to *Simon Magus*, in the River

Tiber, betwixt the two Bridges, with this

Inscription, TO THE HOLY GOD

SIMON: whereas, as our Learned

Criticks

* Criticks now inform us, it was only an Inscription to one of the Pagan Demi-gods, in these Words, SEMONI DEO SANCO; which this Good Father mistook, instead of *Semoni*, reading *Simoni*, and for *Sanco*, reading *Sancto*. † Eusebius faith, and * St. Hierome divers times repeateth it after him; that *Josephus*, the Jewish Historian reporteth, that at the time of our Saviours Passion, the Heavenly Powers forsook the Temple of *Hierusalem*; and that there was a great noise heard, and a voice saying, *Μεταβαλετω ελευθερι*, Let us depart hence; and yet nevertheless the Truth of the Story is, that *Josephus* reported this to have happened at the same time, when the City was besieged, that is to say, above Thirty five years after the Death of our Saviour.

* The same Authors, and in a manner all others after them, have constantly delivered as a certain Truth, that *Philo Judæus* in that Book of his, entituled *De Vita Contemplativa*, describeth unto us the manner of Life of the Christian *Axulæi*, or Monks: and yet that Book of *Philo*, which we have at this day under this Title, proclaimeth loud enough, that he there speaks, not of the *Christians*, but of the *Essenes*, who were one of the three Sects among the *Jews*; as hath been observed by

† *Scaliger*, and by divers others after him. We have † *Scalig. de* touched, how * *St. Ambrose*, without giving us any *Emend. Temp.* Account of his Reasons why he doth so, understands by * *Ambros. l. 2.* *Gog* and *Magog*, mentioned in † *Ezekiel*, the Nation of the *Goths*, who in his time over-run all Christendom. He tells us in another place, with the very † *Ezech. 33.* same confidence that * *Zacharias*, the father of *John Baptist*, was the High Priest of the *Jews*; which yet * *Ambros. Comment. in Luc.* † *Baronius* hath clearly proved to be false. Thus you * *Baron. in Appar. num. 69.* see how little the Later Writers are beholding to those that went before them, as to this Particular.

* *Desider. Herald. in Apol. Terræ*

† *Euseb. in Chron. & Ann. Boet. 2. pag. 250.*

* *Hier. Epist. 150. Hedibia. Comment. 4. in Matth. ep. 17. que est Pauli. & Euseb.*

* *Euseb. Hist.*

Eccles. lib. 2.

cap. 15. 16.

Hier. lib. de

Script. Eccles.

† *Scalig. de*

Emend. Temp.

l. 6 c. 1.

* *Ambros. l. 2.*

cap. de fide ad Gra-

tian.

† *Ezech. 33.*

* *Ambros.*

Comment. in

Luc.

* *Baron. in*

Apparat. num.

69.

Epiphanius

† Epiphani. in Ancor. Καὶ
 φησὶν μὴ εἶναι τὴν γῆν
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς καλεῖσθαι
 καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν. Ἕλληνας δὲ
 τὸν καλεῖσιν Ἰνδὸν ποτα-
 μόν, &c. Διαπερὶ δὲ τὴν με-
 γάλην Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ διὰ
 ἧσθιν Γαδύριον εἰς τὸν
 μέγαν ὠκεανόν.

† Epiphanius affirmeth, that *Pison*, which
 was one of the Four Rivers that watered
 the Terrestrial Paradise, mentioned by
Moses, was the same that the *Indians* and
Ethiopians call *Ganges*, and the Greeks
Indus: which River passing at length
 through *Ethiopia*, discharged it self at last
 into the Ocean at *Cales*. What wonderful

strange Geography have we got here, (if at least we may
 call it by this name,) which jumbleth together
 the East and the West, and confoundeth, and maketh
 all one, Places, which are very near a whole Hemisphere

* Basil. Hom. 3. in Isa.
 ὡς δὲ δυνάμει καὶ θεοῦ
 ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα ὁρᾷ
 Τελειόως το, καὶ Ἰερῶ,
 &c.

distant from each other. * *St. Basil* also,
 who is otherwise an Excellent Author, hath
 mistaken likewise, though not so much, the
 course of the River *Danubius*; for he hath
 only made it to spring out of the *Pyrenean*
 Mountains.

The speaking of these Rivers puts me in mind, that

† Theoph. An-
 tioch l. 2. Am-
 brof. l. de Pa-
 rad. c. 3. Ep.
 Panar. bar. 66.
 Hieron. de locis
 Hebr. voc. Ge-
 on alii.
 * Du Perron
 en sa Repl.
 pag. 950.

† all the Fathers do unanimously understand by *Gihon*, one
 of the Rivers of Paradise, the River *Nilus*; which hath
 so deceived Cardinal * *Perron* also, as that he so deli-
 vers it to us, as the express Text of the Scriptures, by this
 means making it guilty of a manifest absurdity, how
 innocent soever in it self it be, and free from intending
 any such thing; seeing that it is evident, that neither in
 the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, nor *Latine* Text, it is ever said, that
 the River *Nile* watered the Land of Paradise: it being
 only a Dream of the Fathers, * that one of these Rivers
 of Paradise, must needs have been the *Nile*; though this
 Fancy of theirs (as † *Scaliger* makes it appear, and as it
 is confessed by † *Petavius* also) is built upon no ground,
 or reason at all. Neither hath their *Philosophy* also
 been sometimes less wonderful, than their *Geography*: as

† Scalig. de
 Emend. Temp.
 Petav. in Epi-
 ph. p. 371.

* Tertul. lib. de
 An. c. 19.

† Epiphani in
 Ancor. num 90.

for example; when * *Tertullian* maintains, that Plants
 are endued both with sense, and understanding too. So
 likewise where † *Epiphanius* holds, that it is possible for
 a dead

a Dead Man to return to Life again, without the Reunion of the Soul to the Body: As also where

^a S. Ambrose saith, That the Sun, to the end he may allay his extreme Heat, refresheth himself with the Nourishment which he draweth up from the Waters: and that from hence it is, that we sometimes see

him appear as it were all over wet, and dropping with Dew. And so again, where you have some of them entertaining the Doctrine of the Spherical Figure of the Heavens, with very great scorn; and ^b maintaining, That it is onely as it were an Arch, which is buile upon the Waters, as on its Bale. ^c Some others of them you have, who will not endure to hear of the Earths being of a Round,

Spherical Figure, or of the *Antipodes*; and account those Men little less than Infidels, that shall offer to maintain any such Opinions. But these are not bare Mistakes, and

Overights onely; but are rather Errors which proceeded from the want of a due Examination, and a right Apprehension of things: As for their Grammatical Errors,

they are more frequent and usual with them, than any other: and the reason of their so often mistaking here, is, the little knowledge they had in the Hebrew Tongue, as,

for Instance, when ^d Optatus, and some others of them, will needs deduce the Name *Gephas*, from the Greek *κεφαλη*, which signifies a Head; whereas *Cepha* is a Syriack

word, and signifies a Stone, as the Evangelist expressly testifieth. S. Ambrose is in the like manner mistaken, where he derives the word ^e *Pascha*, which is of Hebrew Ex-

traction, and which signifieth properly a *Passing*, from a Greek word, signifying to *Suffer*; in which Etymologie

of his he is faithfully followed by Pope Innocent III. in an Oration of his, which he made at the Opening of the Council of Lateran. ^f

We have formerly given a touch at some Errors of theirs of this nature, observed by S. Hierome, to whom the Church is very much obliged, both for the great pains

^a Ambrose Hexaem. l. 1. c. 3. Frequenter solem videmus madidum, atque rorantem, in quo evidens dat indicium quod alimentum sibi aquarum ad temperiem sui sumperit.

^b Justin Quæst. & Respons. Qu. 130. ad Autodid. l. 1. c. 1. In fine. 34. August. de Civ. Dei. l. 1. c. 9.

^d Opt. l. 2. contr. Don. Omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus, unde & Cephas appellatus est.

^e Joan. 1. 42.

^f Ambros. l. 1. de Pasch. c. 1. Quod quidem sacramentum nomen ab ipso Dominum passionem descendit. Innoc. III. Ser. 1. in Conc. Later.

that he took, in endeavouring to attain unto so exquisite knowledge in the Hebrew Tongue; as also for the great courage that he had, in taking so much liberty to himself, as freely to note all such Impertinences, whensoever he met with them; who, or how great Persons soever the Authors of them were. All the rest of the Fathers, a very few only excepted, do here but, as it were, grope out their way in the dark; and hence it is, that we have so many wild Etymologies given by them, of the Proper Names that we meet with in the Scriptures. Who can read, without amazement, that which ^a Irenaeus hath delivered, touching the Derivation of the Name of *JESUS*, which he will have to be composed of two Letters and a vowel, adding moreover, that in the Ancient Language of the Hebrews it signifieth the Heavens, notwithstanding that the Angel expressly testified, at the very beginning of *S. Matthew's* Gospel, that our Saviour Christ was called *JESUS*, because He was to save His people from their sins. Of the like nature is that, where he saith, That the Name of God, *Adonai*, signifieth Wonderful; or, if you will, as it is, *Adonai*, it then signifieth Him that boundeth and separateth the Earth from the Water. And the like Etymologies doth he give us of the Word *Sabbath*, and of *Joab*. Like to these, are those Mysteries which he informs us of, in the afore-cited Treatise of his, which no Author else, either Ancient or Modern, ever heard of: telling us withal, That *Barnab* is the Name of God in Hebrew; and that the First and most Ancient Hebrew Letters, which were called *Sacerdotes*, were onely Ten in number, and were written Five manner of ways. Out of the same Storehouse hath ^b Clemens Alexandrinus produced us that precious Etymology which he hath given of the Name of *Abraham*, saying, It is by Interpretation, The Eldest Father of a Sound: and that other of the Name *Rebecca*, which he will have to signifie, The Glory of God.

^a Iren. *contra Her.* l. 2. c. 41.
Jesum autem nomen secundum propriam Hebraeorum linguam, literarum est duarum, &c. *Matth.* 1. 12.
Iren. l. 2. c. 66.

^b Clem. Alex. *Strom.* l. 4. *Epistulae ad Romanos* p. 222. Πατρις ἢ πατήρ.

^c S. Hilary

S. Hilary saith, That *Scion* signifieth a fruitless Tree. *Hilar. in Ps.*
 Bae 6. Hierome informs us, That S. Hilary understand- *132. Scion in*
 ing nothing at all in Hebrew, and being not so very ex- *fructuosæ ar-*
 cellent at the Greek, neither, he was fain to make use of *boris inter-*
 a certain Priest named *Heliodorus*, to interpret to him *pretatio est.*
 out of *Origen* whatsoever he himself understood not; *Hieron. ep.*
 who not discharging his Trust sometimes so faithfully *141. ad Mar-*
 as he should have done, was the cause of this Father's *cell.*
 committing some certain Errors of this nature, in his
 Commentaries. Theophilus Antiocheus saith, That be- *Theoph. Ami-*
 fore *Melehisedeck's* time the City of *Jerusalem* was cal- *och. l. 2. ad An-*
 led *Hierosolyma*; but that afterwards it was called *tol.*
Hierusalem; from *Him*: which is a very strange Fancy of
 his, and such a one, as it is no very easie matter to guess
 what Ground he should have for it. What strange
 Dreams doth S. Ambrose entertain his Readers withal, *Ambros. Ep.*
 where he expounds the Names of *Chorah*, and of *Oreb*; *l. 10. ep. 82.*
 the one whereof, with him, signifieth, *The Understanding*,
 and the other, *The whole Heart*, or, *As the Heart?*
 And so likewise in his Exposition of the *CXVIII Psalm*, *Ambros. in*
 where he gives us the meaning of each of the *Hebrew Psalm 118.*
 Letters wherewith the first Verses begin of every one
 of the 22 *Otionaries* whereof the said *CXVIII Psalm*, ac-
 cording to the *Hebrew* reckoning, consisteth. But he *Id. lib. de In-*
 is by no means to be pardoned, where he is so much out *varn. Dom.*
 in the *Greek* Tongue, which he understood reasonably *Sacr. c. 9.*
 well, as to derive the word *Essence*, from *ain*, *Al-*
ways, and *Era*, *Being*: which is so gross a Mistake, as
 would not have been pardoned a School-Boy at the
 Grammar-School. And as for S. Hierome, it is true,
 that he is sometimes at this Sport too; though I should
 think he does it of purpose, and to make himself merry
 onely, rather than any way mistaking himself: as for ex-
 ample, when he derives the *Latin* word *Nuge* from *Hier. in So-*
 the *Hebrew* נוג, *Nogè*, which you read in the Prophet *phon. cap. 3.*
Zephaniab, chap. 3. vers. 8. And so likewise when he *ver. 8.*
 searcheth in the *Hebrew* for the signification of *Paul*, *Id. Comm. in*
Ep. ad Philem.

Philemon, Onesimus, Timothy, and other words which are purely Greek. And even in the very Scriptures themselves, which they were both better acquainted with, and which they had also in greater Veneration than any other Books whatsoever, they often mistake themselves in citing them. As for example, when *Justin Martyr* alledgeth a Passage out of the Prophet *Zephaniah*, which yet is not found any where but onely in the Prophet *Zachariah*; and in another place, where he names *Jeremiah* in Head of *Daniel*. So likewise, when *S. Hilary* tells us, That *S. Paul* in the 13 Chapter of the *Acts*, alledgeth a certain Passage out of the First Psalm, which yet is found only in the Second; whereas *S. Paul* in that place speaks not one Syllable of the First Psalm; but expressly nameth the Second. So also when *Epiphanius* says, out of the 27 Chap. Ver. 37. of the *Acts* of the Apostles, That the number of those that were in the Ship with *S. Paul*, when he suffered Ship-wrack, was one while 70, and by and by 80 Souls; whereas the Text saith expressly, that they were in all 276. So likewise when in another place he affirmeth, out of the Gospel,

Id. ibid.

S. Hilary in

Psalm 2.

Epiphanius in

Anchor.

Id. in Panar. l. 3. Her. 80. "Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ ὢν ὁ ἀληθινός, &c. οἷον τὴν μὴ τοιαύτην, μὴ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ

Hier. Comm.

1. in Abac.

That our Saviour *Christ* said to his Mother, *Touch me not*; whereas it appears plainly out of the Text, that these words were spoken onely to *Mary Magdalene*. So where *S. Hierome* troubles himself very much in reconciling a certain Passage alledged by *S. Paul* out *Habakkuk*, to the Original, telling us, that *S. Paul* had cited it in these words, *The Just shall live by My Faith*; whereas it is most evident, that the Apostle, both in the First Chapter of the *Epistle to the Romans*, as also in the *Epistle to the Galatians*, hath it only thus, *The Just shall live by Faith*; and not, *The Just shall live by My Faith*. *Athanasius* in his *Synopsis* (or whoever else was the Author of that Piece) reckoning up the several Books of Scriptures, evidently takes the Third Book of *Esdas*, which hath been always accounted Apocryphal

cryptal by the common consent of all *Christendom*, for the *First*, which is received by all, both *Christians* and *Jews*, into the Canon of the Scriptures. We might reckon to this number (if at least so foolish a Piece deserve to have any place among the Writings of the Fathers) that gross mistake which we meet with in an Epistle of Pope Gregory II. who railleth fiercely against *Uzziah*, for breaking the *Brazen Serpent*; calling him, for this Act of his, *The Brother of the Emperour Leo the Iconoclast*; which, as he thought, was all one, as to reckon him amongst the most mischievous and wretched Princes that ever had been: and yet all this while the Scripture tells us, that this was the Act, not of *Uzziah*, but of the Good King *Hezekiah*; and that he deserved to be rather commended for the same, than blamed. As for their slips of Memory, he had need to have a very happy one himself, that should go about to reckon them all up. For example;

¹ S. Ambrose tells us somewhere, That the *Eagle* dying, is revived again out of her own Ashes. Who sees not, that in this place he would have said; the *Phoenix*? But however, in another place giving us an Account of the Story of the *Phoenix*, as it is commonly delivered, he says, That *this we have learned from the Authority of the Scriptures*. By a like mistake it was, that he affirmed, that these words,

² For this very purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee, were spoken to *Moses*; to whom notwithstanding the Lord never said any such word, but rather to *Pharaoh*. In like manner doth he attribute to the *Jews* those words in the ninth Chapter of S. John, which were indeed spoken by *Christ's* Disciples, who asked him, saying, ³ Master, who didst thou say, that he was born blind? I impute that other mistake of his, to the heat of his Rhetorick, where he

¹ Ambros. l. 2 de Penit. c. 2. Quod etiam aquila, cum fuerit mortua, ex suis reliquiis renascatur.

² Id. lib. de fid. Resur. Atqui hoc relatione crebra, & Scripturarum autoritate cognovimus, memoratam avem, &c.

³ Ambros. Ser. 10. Denique iterum Moyse dicit, quia in hoc ipsum te suscitavi, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam.

⁴ Ambros. ep. l. 9. ep. 73. Quam stolidi autem Judæi qui interrogant, Hic peccavit, an Parentes? Id. l. 2. de Sancto Jacob. c. 11.

brings

brings in one of the seven Brethren in the *Maccabees*, who suffered under King *Antiochus*, and makes him, in his height of Gallantry, alledge the Example of *John*, and of *James*, the Sons of Thunder, two of our Saviour *Christ* Apostles, who came not into the World, as every one knows, till a long time after this. It was a slip of me-

^b *Tertul. contr. Marc. l. 4. c. 24.* ^b *Tertullian*, where he tells us, ^b That the Lord said unto *Moses*, *They have not rejected Thee, but they have rejected Me*; which words were indeed spoken to

* *1 Sam. 8.* * *Samuel*, and not to *Moses*. *S. Hierome* also was overtaken in the like manner, ^c when he tells us, That none of the Fathers ever understood the word *Knew*, in the *Last Verse* of the *First Chapter* of *S. Matthew*, otherwise than of the Conjugal Act; not remembering, that his own dear Friend *Epiphani-*

us takes the word in a quite different sense, and will have the meaning of the place to be, That *Joseph*, before the Miraculous Birth of our Saviour *Christ*, knew not what

Glory and Excellency was to befall the Blessed Virgin, knowing nothing else of her before, save only that she was the Daughter of *Joachim* and of *Anna*, and Coulin to *Elizabeth*, who was of the House of *David*: whereas he at that time knew clearly, that God had done him that Honour of sending his Angel to him, and of

chusing his Espoused Wife *Mary* to be the only Woman on Earth, on whom he would confer that so great and wonderful Benefit and Advantage, above all others. But we intend not here to give you an Inventory of all the Errors of this nature, which are to be found in the Writings of the Ancients: these Patterns may well enough serve to shew, what the whole Pieces are.

I shall only add here, That, besides this Carelessness and Security, which is so ordinary with them, in writing thus confidently whatsoever came in their mind, or what-

Epiphani. in Panar. Har. 78. Antidicom. 'Αντ' ὁμοῦ ἔγνω τὴν Μαριάμ ὃ Ἰωσήφ, ὃ καὶ γινώσκον τίνα χεῖρας ἔχει γινώσκον καὶ πατέρα, ἀλλ' ἔγνω αὐτὴν, τὸ μυστὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ θεῷ τελεμνημένην ὃ δὲ ἴδεν αὐτὴν τοιαύτης ὁμοῦ ἔγνω.

whatever others had delivered over unto them, for Sound and Good, without ever examining it thoroughly; they had yet another kind of Custom, which seems not to suit so well with the Person of Judges, as we will needs have them to be.

And this is, that in their Writings they are sometimes so jolly and sportful, coming over us with such rare *Allegorical Observations* as have scarcely any more Solidity or Body, than those Castles of Cards that little Children are wont to make. These Cardinal Perron calls, *Des Gayetez joyeuses*, Cheerful Frolickings. I know very well, that *Allegories* are useful, and many times also necessary; if so be they be but sober, clear, and well-grounded. But I speak not here save only of such as rack the Text; and, as it were, drag it along by the Hair, and, which make the Sense of the Scripture evaporate in empty Fumes. And of these are the Writings of the Fathers full. S. Hierome often complains of the strange Liberty that Origen and his Disciples took herein. Certainly he himself often flies out in this kind; and whosoever hath a mind to see it, may read but his 146 Epistle, where he expounds the Parable of the Prodigal Son: or let him but turn to the Discourse which he hath made touching the Genealogy of the Prophet Zephaniah, and concerning the City of Damascus; and also upon the History of Abisag the Shunamite; and also upon the Five and twenty Men, and the Two Princes, spoken of in ⁸ *Ezechiel*, chap. 11. and upon the Destruction of Tyre, of ⁶ *Egypt*, and of ¹ *Assyria*, foretold by the same Prophet; as also his subtle Observations upon ^k *Numbers*, and upon King ¹ *Darius*, and upon that Command of our Saviour ^m *Christ*, where he bideth us turn the Left Check to him that hath smitten us on the Right: and many other the like Discourses of his. S. Hilary is so much taken with this manner of writing, as that his Expositions upon the Scripture are half full of these *Allegories*: and to be sure to make himself the more work, he sometimes frames ⁿ certain Impossibilities

Perron's Repl.
p. 743.

^a Hier. In Ep.

^{146.} ad Dam.

^{mas.} pand'or.

^c Id. Comm. in

Soph.

^d Id. ep. ad

Nepot.

^e Id. Comm. 3.

in Ezech.

^f Id. Comm. in

Ezech.

^g Id. Comm. 9.

in sundent.

^h Id. Comm. 10.

in eund.

ⁱ Id. Comm. in

Agg.

^m Id. Comm. 1.

in Matth.

ⁿ Hier. in Ps.

136.

sibilities and Absurdities, which he would make the Scripture seem to be guilty of, which yet it is not; only that he may have some pretense to have recourse to his Allegories. As for example, in the 136 Psalm, he will needs have the Letter of the Text to be utterly inexplicable, where it says, That the *Jews* sat down by the Rivers of *Babylon*, and hanged up their Harps upon the Willows; as it, in this Country, that was watred with *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, there had been neither River, nor Willow, nor any Aquatick Tree.

* *Id. ibid. fol.*
108.

The same ° Author also demandeth, as if it had been a most indissoluble Question, if taken in the Literal sense, who the Daughter of *Babylon* is; and, why she is called Miserable? which is so easie a Question, as that any Child almost might very easily resolve it, without torturing the Text with Allegories. So likewise, in his exposition of the 146 Psalm, he understandeth by the P Clouds wherewith God is said to cover the Heavens, the Writings of the Prophets; and by the Rain which he prepareth for the Earth, the Evangelical Doctrine; by the Mountains which bring forth Grass, the Prophets and Apostles; by the Beasts, he understands Men; and by the young Ravens, the Gentiles: assuring us withal, that it would not be onely Erroneous, but rather very Irreligious, to take these words in the Literal sense. May not this be called rather Sporting with, than Expounding of the Scriptures?

* *Id. in Psal.*
146. fol. 128.
Hæc ita intel-
ligere, non di-
cam erroris,
sed irreligi-
tatis est.

Id. Can. 5. in
Matth. 6. 26.
fol. 7.

Id. Can. 8. in
Matth. 8. 28.
fol. 10.

So likewise in another place, speaking of the Fowls of the Air, which our Saviour said, neither reaped nor gathered into Barns, he understands, by these, the Devils; and by the Lilies of the Field, which spin not, the Angels, I should much abuse the Readers patience, if I should here set down the strange Discourses he hath upon the Story of the two Possessed with Devils, who were healed by our Saviour in the Country of the *Gergesens*; and upon the Leap which the Devils made the neighbouring Herd of Swine take into the Sea; and of the Swine-herds running

ning away into the City, and of the Citizens coming forth, and intreating our Saviour to depart out of their Coasts; or if I should but give you the whole entire Exposition which he hath made of these words, *Kers. 29. Id. Can. 10. Chap. 10. of St. Matthew: Are not two Sparrows sold for a fol. 13. Forthing, &c.* where by the two Sparrows, he understandeth Sinners, whose Souls and Bodies having been made to flye upward and to mount on high, sell themselves to sin for meer Trifles, and things of no value, by this means becoming both as one, the Soul by sin thickning, as it were into a Body: and such other like wild Fancies, the reading whereof would astonish a man of any judgment, rather than edifie him. Neither is St. Ambrose any whit more serious, where expounding those words of our Saviour, *Matth. 17. 20. If you have Faith in a grain of Mustard seed, ye shall say to this Mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, &c.* By this Mountain (saith St. Ambrose) is meant the Devil. It would be too tedious a business, to set down here at length all that might be collected, of this nature, out of him: he that hath any mind to see more Examples of this kind, may read but his Homilies upon the 118. Psalm; which Piece of his, will indeed be otherwise very well worth any mans reading, as being a very excellent one, and full of Eloquence and sound Doctrine. But yet perhaps a man would find it a troublesom business to make any handfom defence for him, where he makes bold sometimes, to use the Sacred words of the Scriptures in his own sportful Fancies: * as where he applies to *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, that which is spoken of *Christ* and the Church, in the *Canticles*: *O that thou wert as my Brother, that sucked the breasts of my Mother! When I should find thee without, I would kiss thee, &c. I would lead thee, and bring thee into my Mothers house, &c. I would cause thee to drink of Spiced Wine, and of the juyce of my Pomegranates. His left hand should be under my head, and his right hand should embrace me.*

Ambros. in Ps. 36. pag 503. Matth. 17. 20. Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis huic monti, Tollere & jactare in mare. Huic; Cui? Dæmonio inquit, à quo iste invasus fuerat, &c.

* *Idem Tract. de obit Valent. pag. 11, 12. Quis dabit te frater fratrem mihi, lactantem ubera matris mea? Ege. Cant. 8. 1. Promittit fratri augustæ memoriæ, Gratianus, præsto sibi fructus diversarum esse virtutum.*

In this place (saith he) I mean the Emperor Gratian, of Renowned Memory, who reiters his Brother that he is furnished with the fruits of Divers Vertues. And to the same purpose doth he make Application of divers other Passages of this Sacred Councile; and with so great Licence, as to say the truth, no Poet ever lashed out with more liberty and freedom than he hath done in that Book of his. I shall here purposely pass by, what I might produce, of this nature, out of Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, and almost all the rest of the Fathers: for, this that we have already brought, is enough, and indeed more than we needed for our present purpose. Let the Reader therefore now judge, whether or no the Fathers, by this their manner of Writing, have not clearly enough witnessed against themselves, that their Intention, when they wrote these their Books, never was either to bound and determine our Faith, or to decide our differences touching the same. I must needs confess, that they were Persons who were endued with very large Gifts of the Spirit; and with a most lively and clear Understanding, for the diving into the Truth. But yet those, that have the greatest share of these Gifts, have it yet to very little purpose, if so be they imploy it not all, and every part of it, to the utmost of their power, when the business they are to treat of is of so great both difficulty and importance; and such, as to the deciding and discussing whereof we can never bring either more attention or diligence, than is needful. Now that the Fathers have not observed this Course in their Writings, appeareth clearly enough by what hath been formerly said: Their Books therefore are not to be received by us, either as Definitive Sentences, or Final Judgments upon our present Controversies. I confess that these small trivial Errors ought not to take off any thing of the Opinion we have of the Greatness and Gallantry of their Parts. I believe they might very easily have avoided the falling into them, if they would but have taken the pains to have looked a little better about them. And I

ism of Opinion; that they fell into them merely by inadvertency only; which may also sometimes happen even to the greatest Masters that are, in any Sciences whatsoever. I shall as willingly also yield to you, (if you desire it,) that they have sometimes done these things purposely; letting fall here and there throughout their Writings such little slips from their Pen, sportingly, and by way of Recreation; or else out of a design of exercising our Wits.

But certainly, whatsoever the Reason were, seeing that they had no mind to use any more either care or diligence in the composing of their Books; we may very well, and indeed we ought to conclude from hence, that they had never any Intention that these Books of theirs should be our Judges.

These Innocent Faults, these Mistakes, these Oversights, these Forgetfulnesses, and these Sportings of theirs, do sufficiently declare for their part, that we are to make our Addresses to some others; and, that they have not so freely delivered their Opinions, as if they had sat on the Seat of Judgment; but rather have spoken as in their Chamber, venting their own private Opinions only; and not as our Judges.

These Considerations, joyned to what hath been said, in this particular; by some of the chiefest and most eminent among themselves, as we have formerly shewed, do make it, in my Judgment, evidently enough appear, that their own will and desire is, that we should not embrace their Opinions, as Oracles, or receive them as Definitive Sentences; but that we should rather examine them by the Scriptures, and by Reason; as being the Opinions of Doctors, who were indeed very able and excellent Men; but yet notwithstanding they were still Men, subject to Errour, and who had not always the good Fortune to light upon what was true and sound; and who peradventure, even in this very Case in hand, have not always done what they might; by reason of their employing either less time, or less

care and diligence, than they should have done, if at least they had had any serious purpose of doing their utmost endeavour in this Particular.

CHAP. IV.

Reason IV. That the Fathers have erred, in divers Points of Religion; not only singly, but also many of them together.

I Conceive, that that which hath been delivered in the two preceding Chapters, is sufficient to make it appear to any moderate man, that the Authority of the Fathers is not so Authentick, as People commonly imagine it to be. Thou therefore whosoever thou art, if thou beest but an indifferent and impartial Reader, mayest omit the reading of this, and the following Chapter, both which I am fain to add, though much against my will, to answer all Objections that may yet be made by perverse and obstinate persons. For the prejudice, wherewith they are before-hand possessed, may hinder them, perhaps from seeing the clearness of Reason, and from hearing the voice of the Fathers themselves; whose words they perhaps will be ready to impute to their modesty, rather than they will consent to yield unto them no more honour, than they themselves require. The stubbornness therefore of these men, and not any need that thou hast of my doing so, hath constrained me to lay aside some of that Respect, that I bear towards Antiquity, and hath obliged me to give them a sight of some Errours of the Fathers, which are of much more importance than the former, if by this means at least I may be able to overcome this their obstinacy. For when they

they shall but see, that the Fathers have erred in divers very considerable Points: I hope they will at length confess, that they had very good Reason, gravely to advise us, not to believe, or take upon Trust any of their Opinions, unless we find that they are grounded either upon the Scriptures, or else upon some other Truth: I confess, I enter upon this Inquiry very unwillingly, as taking very little pleasure in discovering the Infirmities and Failings of any Men, especially of such, as are otherwise thought worthy of so great Estimation and Honour: but yet there is nothing in the World, Thow precious or dear unto us soever it be, that we ought not to account as Dung, if it be compared with Truth, and the Edification of men. And I am verily perswaded, that even these blessed *Saints* themselves, were they now alive again, would give us thanks for the pains we have taken, in endeavouring to make men see, that they were but men; and would account themselves beholding to us, for having taken the boldness upon us, for the same reason to discover those Imperfections and Failings of theirs, which Divine Providence hath suffered them to leave behind them in their Writings, to the end only that they might serve as so many Arguments to us of their Humanity. If there be any notwithstanding, that shall take offence hereat, I must intreat them once again to consider, that the perverseness only of those men; with whom I have to deal, hath forced me to this Irreverence, (if at least we are to call it so) together with the desire I have to manifest to the World so important a Truth as this is. If I would go about to defend my self by Examples, I could here make use of that of Cardinal Perron; who, to justify the Church of *Rome*, interdicting the reading of the Bible to any of the Laity, save only such as should be allowed so to do, makes no more ado but falls to laying open to the view of the World (not all the *Fauls*) for there are no such there; but all the *False Appearances of Faults*, that are found in the Bible, making a whole

*Du Perron,
Repliq. lib. 6.
cap. 6. p. 949.*

C^t apter.

Chapter expressly of the same. How much more lawfully then may we adventure here, to expose to public view some few of the Failings of the Fathers, unto whom we owe infinitely less Respect, than unto God; only to moderate a little, and to allay the heat of that excessive Devotion, that most men bear towards their Writings; that to the one Party may be perswaded to seek out for some other Weapons, than the Authority of these men, for the defence of their Opinions; and that the other Party may not so easily be induced to give ear to the bare Testimony of Antiquity. It was the Saying of a Great Prince long since, that the vilest and most shameful Necessities of his Nature, were the things that most clearly evinced him, that he was a *Man*, and no *God*, as his flattering Courtiers would needs have made him believe he was. Seeing therefore it stands us so much upon, to know, that the Fathers were but *Men*, let us not be afraid to produce here this so clear and so evident Argument of their Humanity. Let us boldly enter into their most hidden Secrets, and let us see what ever Marks of their Humanity they have left us in their Writings; that we may no longer adore and reverence their Authority, as if it were wholly Divine. Yet I protest here, before I begin, that I will not make any advantage at all of those many Arguments of their *Passion*, which we meet withal; partly in their own Writings, and partly in the Histories of their Life. I heartily wish rather, that all of this kind might be buried in an Eternal Oblivion, and that we would account of them, as of Persons that were most accomplished for Purity and Innocency of Life; as far forth at least, as the frail Condition of Humane Nature can bear. I shall only touch upon the Errours of their *Belief*, and those things wherein they have failed, not in *Living*, but in *Writing*. The most Ancient of them all is *Iustin Martyr*, a man so renowned in all Ancient Histories for his great Knowledge, both in Religion and Philosophy, and also for the Fer-
veney

veny of his Zeal, which is so evidently manifested, by his suffering a Glorious Martyrdom for our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet for all this, how many odd Opinions do we meet withal in his Books, which are either very trivial, or else are manifestly false? Do but hear, how he speaks of the Last Times, immediately preceding the Day of Judgment, and the end of the *World*. * As

for me, (saith he) and the rest of us that are true Christians, we know that there shall be a Resurrection of the Flesh, and that the Saints shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem, which shall be rebuilt, enriched, and enlarged, as the Prophets assure us, Ezechiel, Isaiah, and others. And to this purpose he citeth that which is written Isaiah, Chap. 65. and besides, that other Passage in the Revelation, where it is said, † *That those which had believed in Christ, should live and reign with him a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that after this there should be a General and Final Resurrection and Judgement.* In which words you see plainly, that he holds with the Christians, that the Saints shall reign a thousand years in Jerusalem, before the Resurrection be perfectly accomplished. Which notion that is at this day condemned as Errone whole Western Church, both on the one side other. He seems in another place to have held, that the Essence of God was finite, and was not present in all places; where he endeavours to prove against a Jew, that it was not the Father, * *who rained fire and brimstone upon Sodom, because that he could not then have been at that time in Heaven.* That which he hath delivered, concerning the Angels, is altogether as senseless, though not so dangerous; namely, † *That God ba-*

* *Justin. c. 117. Tryph. p.*
307. Ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι τι νέε-
ται ἐρδογνώμονες ἐπὶ πάντα
ῥέεσι ναι, καὶ σαρκεὶ ἀνά-
στασι καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ ἐκαστὸν ἀν-
τιτάσσεται καὶ ἡλίαν ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ
οὐκ ὀφείδεται, καὶ κοσμο-
ποίησιν καὶ πλάσσειν, &c.
† *Id.* ἡλίαν ἐπὶ ποιήσεται ἐπὶ
Ἰερουσαλὴμ τὸς πρὸς ἡμῶν
ἐφ' ἡμεῶν σιγῶσιν, &c.
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλὴν καθο-
κεῖται καὶ συνεκρίνεται φανερῶς
ἀποστόλων ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα
πείθοντες ἀνέστασιν καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ,
καὶ κρίσει.

* Idem contr. Tristh pag 283.
 357. ἐπεὶ ἴαν μὴ ἔτω
 τοιοῦτων τὰν γεγενησθαι συμ-
 βόσεων τὰν πατέρων αὐτῶν
 εἰον ἢ ὅλων μὴ γεγενησθαι
 τότε ἐν τοῖς ἡγετοῖς, ὅτε
 διὰ Μασίας ἀλλοτρίῃ, καὶ
 Κρεῖα Ἐρεξίῳ ὅτι Σόδομα,
 &c.

† *Idem* in *Apol.* proving

ad Rom. pag. 44. τὴν μὲν
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὗτος
τὸν ἕανδον πεποιθὼς ἀγγέ-
λοις, ὡς ὅτι τῆς ἀταξείας
παράδωκεν. Οἱ δ' ἀγγέλοι
παράδωκεν τῶνδε τῶν τά-
ξεων, ἡνωμένων μίσητον ἡτλή-
θιστον, καὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
συν, οἷ ἐστιν οἱ λεγόμενοι
Διμόνιοι.

* Justin, *c. 1* Tryph. p. 333.
 φάινεται ὅτι καὶ οἱ πατέρες αἱ
 ψυχαὶ τῶν ἑταίρων δικαίων, καὶ
 Περσικῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἑ-
 πιπλοῦν τῶν τοιούτων δυνά-
 μεων, &c.

Ibid. καὶ ὁ ἀποτίθεις τὸ πνεῦμα ὅτι πᾶς αὐτῶν, εἴτε, Πάτερ εἰς χεῖρας σου παρατίθεται τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

† Id. Apol. 2. p. 83. Καὶ οἱ
μετὰ λόγῳ βιόσαντες χει-
ριανοὶ εἰσὶν κἀνάθεοι ἐνομί-
στου. οἷον ἐν Ἑλληνισμῷ
Συκεδῶνις, καὶ Ἡράκλειτος,
καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἐν βαρ-
βαρίῳ, ὡς Ἀβραάμ, &c.

* *Ibid.* οἱ δὲ μετὰ λόγου βιά-
σαντες καὶ βιοῦντες, χειρ-
νοὶ, καὶ ἄρσενες, καὶ ἀπαρχοὶ
ὑπάρχουσιν.

ving in the beginning, committed unto them the Care and Providence over men and all sub-lunary things, they had broken this Order, by suffering themselves to be overcome by the Love of Women, by companying with whom had been also born Children, which are those we now call Demons, or Devils. I know not neither, whether he will be able easily to bring any one over to that other Opinion of his, where he says; that * *All the Souls of the Saints, and of the Prophets, had fallen under the power of Evil Spirits, which were such, as were the Spirits of Python: and that this was the reason, why our Saviour Christ, being now ready to give up the Ghost, recommended his Spirit to God.* I pray you tell me, out of what part of Gods Word he learnt this Doctrine, which he delivers in his second *Apologie*: where he says, † *That all those, who lived according to the Rule of Reason, were Christians, notwithstanding that they might have been accounted as Atheists; such as among the Greeks, were Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like; and among the Barbarians, Abraham and Azarias: repeating the same Doctrine, within a few Lines afterward, and saying, that ‡ All those who lived, or do now live according to the Rule of Reason, are Christians, and are in an assured, quiet condition.* Irenæus, Bishop of

Lyon, who lived very near his time, was also, of the same Opinion with *Justin*, touching the state of the Soul, after it is once departed out of the Body, till the hour of Judgment. For, towards the conclusion of that Excellent Book of his, which he wrote against Heresies, after that he hath told us, that our Saviour Christ had descended into Hell, and had been in the place where the

the Dead were in which place he opposed to the Light of this World: he further addeth, That it is evident, that the Souls of the Disciples of our Saviour, for the love of whom he did all these things, shall go also into a certain Invisibile place, which is provided for them by God, there to expect the Resurrection; and shall afterwards resume their Bodies, and be raised up again in all Perfection: that is to say, Corporally, in the same manner as our Saviour was raised up again, and so shall they come into the presence of God. And this Opinion he opposeth against that of the *Valentinians*, and *Gnosticks*, which he had before produced in the beginning of his Chapter of his, who held, That the Souls of Men, immediately after they were departed out of the Body, were carried up above the Heavens, and the Creator of the World, and went to that Mother, or that Father, which these Hereticks had fancied to themselves: Which Opinion of theirs, is in like manner rejected by *Justin Martyr*, in the Passage a little before alledged, out of his Book against *Tryphon*: Whence it plainly appears, (that we may not trouble our selves to produce any other Proofs) that *Justin* and *Irenæus* were both of the same Belief, touching the State of the Soul after Death. But to return to *Irenæus*, in his Second Book against Hereticks, he maintains very stiffly, That our Saviour Christ was above Forty years of age, when he suffered death for us: bringing in, in defence of this Opinion of his, which so manifestly contradicted the Evangelical Histories, certain Probabilities onely; as namely, That our Saviour passed through all Ages, as being come into the World to sanctifie and save People of all Ages; urging also those words of the Jews to our Saviour, *Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?* In the Conclusion of all, saying, That *S. John* had delivered it by Tradition to the Priests of Asia, That Christ was somewhat Ancient when he began to preach

Iren. l. 5. contr. Heres. c. 26. Manifestum est, quia & discipulorum ejus, propter quos & hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis à Deo, & ibi usq; ad Resurrectionem commorabuntur, Subintentes Resurrectionem, &c.

Justin. contra Tryph. p. 307.

Iren. contr. Hæres. l. 2. c. 39.

Joh. 8. 57.

preach, being then about the age of Forty or Fifty Years. This Fancy of his appeared so ridiculous to Cardinal Baron. Anna. *Baronius*, as that, notwithstanding the Faith of all the Copies of his Father, and the Contexture, which appears evidently to be his, together with the Vein and Marks of his Fancy and Style, he hath yet had the confidence to say, That this whole Passage had been soited into the Text of *Irenæus*, either by some ignorant, or some malicious Person; and that it could not be *Irenæus* his own.

But it seemeth, that he had no great reason for this his suspicion, as the Jesuite *Petavius* hath clearly made it appear, in his Notes upon *Epiphanius*. However you may hence perceive, that *Byronius* thinks that very Possible, which we have endeavoured to prove in the Former Part of this Treatise; namely, That there may Possibly have been very many and great Alterations and Corruptions in the Books of the Writers of the First Ages, by many Passages and Clauses having been either inserted into them, or else maliciously rased out of them.

The same *Irenæus* holds, and endeavours to prove, in the same Book, That the Souls of Men, after death, retain the Character (that is to say, the Figure) of the Bodies to which they were formerly united, and that they represent the shape of the said Bodies, so as to make Men take them for the same. I shall here pass by that which he saith in the 40 Chapter of the same Book; namely, That our Saviour Christ did not at all know when the Day of Judgment should be, neither according to the one, nor according to the other of his Natures: although these words of his look as if they would very hardly be reconciled to any good sense: Neither shall I yet take notice of what both he and *Justin Martyr* have in divers places so rashly delivered, touching the strength of Humane Nature, in the Business of Salvation: because

I conceive, with *Cassander*, that all those Passages may, and indeed ought to be understood with respect had to the

* *Iren. l. 2. contr. Her. c. 62.* Animas, &c. Characterem corporis, in quo etiam adprantur, custodire eundem, &c. *C. c. 63.* Animas hominis habere figuram ut etiam cognoscantur.

* *Iren. contr. Her. l. 2. c. 49.*

* *Cassand. in defens. libelli de Offic. pii Viri.*

the scope and drift of these Authors, whose Business there was to confute those Hereticks of Their time, who maintained, That there was a *Ratall* Necessity in the Actions of Men, by this means depriving them of all manner of Election, or Judgment. Neither bath the great Learning of *Clement Alexandrinus* kept him from falling into very many the like Errors: as for instance, where in divers places he says plainly, That the Heathen, who lived before the coming of our Saviour Christ, were justified by Philosophy, which was then Necessary for them, whereas it is now only Useful unto them; and that this Philosophy was their schoolmaster, as the Gentiles, which brought them to Christ, or served to guide them till the time of his Coming, in like manner as the Law did the Jews; and that the Greeks were justified by it alone, and that it was given unto them, as their Covenant, being a step to, and, as it were, a Foundation laid for Christian Philosophy. He was of Opinion also, in order to this, That our Saviour went down into Hell, to preach the Gospel to the Departed Spirits, and that he saved many of them, that is, all that believed: And that the Apostles also, after their Death, descended likewise into the same place; and for the same purpose: Conceiving, that God otherwise should have been Unjust, and an Acceptor of Persons, if so be, he should have condemned all those who died before the Coming of his Son. For (saith he) if He preached to the Living, so the dead they might not be condemned Unjustly: why should he not, for the same Reason, preach also to those who were departed this Life before his Coming?

Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. * *Ἡν δὲ πρὸ τῆς Κρείας παραστάσεως δικαιοσύνην ἔλληνον ἀναγκαίαν διδασκαλίαν, ὡς καὶ χριστιανὰ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν ἵναί τε.*
* *Μὴ. Ἐπιδεικνύμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ, ὡς ὁ νόμος τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς χριστόν.*

Id. p. 117. * *Καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐδιδάξαντο καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*

Id. lib. 6. Strom. p. 279. *Τῶν δὲ εὐλογοῦντων καὶ πολλῶν, Ἑλλήνων δεινὸν διδασκάλον οἰκίαν, αὐτοῖς διδόντες, ποσὸν ἀβελαντοῦν τῆς κατὰ χριστὸν φιλοσοφίας.*

Id. p. 268. *Καθὰς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἐξ ἑστέρας οὐδὲ κατὰ παροφθαλμίας διδόντες, ἵπτοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀκακῶν, οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ διακρίσει περὶ τὰς ἀναστάσεις.*

Id. Strom. lib. 6. p. 269. * *Ὁ Κύριος ἐν ψυχραῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν αἵματι καὶ σφύρι.*

* *Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καθὰ τὸν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς καὶ ἐν (in inferis) τοῦ αἵματος ἐν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρανίας οὐρανίας ἐν ψυχραῖς.*

Id. p. 271. *Ἰνσὺς δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν ψυχραῖς, ἵνα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αἵματι αἵματος τῶν ἐν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρανίας οὐρανίας ἐν ψυχραῖς αὐτῶν μὴ ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ψυχραῖς αἰτίαν;*

From these and the like Considerations, he concludeth, That it was necessary that the Souls of all the Dead, as well Gentiles, as Jews, should have been made Partakers of the Preaching of our Saviour, and should have had the Benefit of the same Dispensation, which he used towards others here upon Earth, in order either to their Salvation, through Repentance; or their just Condemnation, for their Impenitency.

He plainly maintains also, in several places of his Works, That all the Punishments which God inflicts upon Men, tend to their Salvation, and are sent them for their Instruction and Amendment: comprehending also within this number, even those very Pains which the Damned endure in Hell: and from hence it is, that he somewhere also affirmeth, That wicked Men are to be purged by Fire: And hereto doth he refer the Conflagration spoken of by the Stoicks, alledging also to this purpose certain Passages out of Plato, and out of a certain Philosopher of Ephesus, which I conceive to be Heraclitus; by all which it clearly appears, that he had the same Belief touching the Pains of Hell, that his Scholar Origen had, who maintains in an infinite number of places up and down his Works, That the Pains of Hell are Purgative only; and consequently are not Eternal, but are to have an end, when the Souls of the Damned are once thoroughly Cleanfed and Purified by this Fire.

He believes also, with Justin Martyr, That the Angels fell in love with the first Women, and that this Love of theirs transported them so far, as to make them indiscreetly to discover unto them many Secrets which they ought to have concealed. But now, quite contrary to Irenaeus, who maintains, That our Saviour Christ lived upon Earth to the Age of fifty years; Clemens will have him to have Preached in

^m Ibid. p. 270. Τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ αὐτὴ χάριν οἰκονομία, ἵνα καὶ πάσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ κησάται αὐτῷ κηρύσσας, ἢ τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἡλικίας, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνάγειν ἐν δίκῃ ἐκ δίκης, ὁμολογῶνται.

Id. Strom. 1. 5. p. 227.

^m Id. Strom. 1. 5 p. 227. Οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐκείνοι οἱ καὶ ἀνὰ πλῆθος ἐκείνης, καὶ οἱ ἀγγέλους ἐκείνης, ἐκείνων τὰ ἀποκρύφα ταῦτα ἠρῶντες, &c.

in the Flesh but one year onely, and to have died in the
 Thirty first year of his Age. But since it is confessed by
 both Parties; That there are very many absurd Tenets in
 this Author, I shall not meddle any further with him.
 As for *Tertulian*, I confess his very turning *Montanist*,
 hath taken off indeed very much of the repute which he
 before had in the Church, both for the Fervency of his
 Piety, and also for his Incomparable Learning. But yet,
 besides that a great part of his Works were written while
 he was yet a *Catholic*; we are also to take notice, that
 this his *Montanism* put no separation at all betwixt
 him and other *Christians*, save only in point of *Discipline*,
 which he, according to the Severity of his Nature, would
 have to be most Harsh and Rigorous. For, as for his
Doctrine, it is very evident, that he constantly kept
 to the very same Rule, and the same Faith, that the
Catholicks did: whence proceeded that tart Speech of
 his, *That People rejected Montanus, Maxi-*
milla, and Priscilla, not because they had
any whit departed from the Rule of Faith,
but rather because they would have us to Fast
oftner than to Marry. And this is evident
 enough out of all those Books which were
 written by him, during the time of his be-
 ing a *Montanist*, wherein he never dispu-
 teth or contendeth about any thing, save onely about
Discipline. And this is ingenuously confessed also by the
 Learned *Nicolas Rigaltius*, in his Preface to those 1X
 Books which he hath lately published. Now notwith-
 standing the great Repute which this Father had in the
 Church, and his not departing from it in any thing, in
 Point of Faith; yet how many Wild Opinions and
 Fancies do we meet withal, in his Books? I shall here
 speak onely of some of the principal of them, passing by
 his so Dangerous Expressions touching the Person of the
 Son of God, as having touched upon this Particular
 before. But how strange is his manner of Discourse
 touching

Id. Strom. p.
127. Οὐκ
πληρῶται τὰ
τελεῖα οὐκ ἔτι
ἔως ἔτι πᾶσι.

Vid. lib. de
Mm. cap. 2. Ec.
et i. contr.
Psych. cap. 1.

Id. contr. Psych. c. 10. Si Paracle-
to controversiam faciunt pro-
pter hoc, prophetiz novæ re-
cusantur, non quod alium De-
um prædicant Montanus, & Pri-
scilla, & Maximilla, &c. sed
quod planè doceant sapienter je-
junare, quam nubere.

Nicol. Rigal-
tius Prolog. in
animad. ad
Tertul. 9. Tract.
an. Lutet.
 1628.

¹ *Tertul. l. 1. adv. Marc. c. 23. & l. 2. c. 16.*

² *Id. adv. Orig. cap. 7. & l. 2. contr. Marc. c. 16. Quis negabit Deum corpus esse, etsi Spiritus est?*

³ *Id. lib. adv. Hermog. c. 35. Cum ipsa substantia corpus sit cuiusque.*

⁴ *Id. l. de Idol. cap. 9. Angelos esse illos desertores Dei, Amatores foeminarum, &c.*

⁵ *Id. de Virg. veland. cap. 7. Debet & adumbrari facies tam periculosa, quæ usque ad cœlum scandala jaculata est.*

⁶ *Id. lib. de Anim. passim: nominatim c. 22. Definimus Animum edici statu naturam immortalem, Corporalem, effigiatam, &c. & unâ redundantem, &c.*

touching the Nature of God, & whom he seems to render subject to the like Passions that we are; as namely, to *Anger, Hatred, and Grief*? He attributes also, to him a *Corporeal Substance*, and does not believe (as he saith himself) that any man will deny, but that *God is a Body*: So that we need the less to wonder, that he so confidently affirms, *That there is no Substance which is not Corporeal*: or, that with *Justin Martyr*, and *Clement Alexandrinus*, he makes the ^u Angelical Nature obnoxious to the Carnal Love of Women; which occasioned those words in that Book of his, *De Virginibus velandis*, where he says,
^x *That it is necessary that so dangerous a Face should be veiled, which had scandalized even Heaven it self*. We need not after this, think strange of his Doctrine, touching the ^v Nature of Mans Soul, which he will have to be *Corporeal*, and endued with *Form and Figure*, and to be propagated

and derived from the Substance of the Father, to the Body of the Son, and sowed and engendred with the Body, increasing and extending it self together with it; and many other the like Dreams: in the maintaining whereof, he useth so much Subtily, strength of Reason, and Eloquence, as that you will hardly meet with, throughout the whole Stock of Antiquity, a more Excellent and more Elegant Piece, than that Book of his, *De Anima*. He also, with *Irenæus*, shuts up the Souls of Men, after they are departed this Life, into a certain Subterraneous place, where they are to remain till the Day of Judgment; the Heavens not being to be opened to any of the Faithful, till the end of the World: onely he allows the *Martyrs* their entrance into *Paradise*, which he fancies to be some place beneath the Heavens; and here
 he

he will have them continue till the Last Day. *"It is thy Blood (saith he) which is the only Key of Paradise.* And this place, whither the Souls of the Dead go, is to continue close shut up till the end of the World, according to him; who besides is of a quite contrary Opinion from that of *Justin Martyr*, spoken of before, and maintains, That all Apparitions of Dead Men are onely meer Illusions, and Deceits of the Devil; and that this Inclosure of the Souls of Men shall continue till such time as the City of the

New Jerusalem, which is to be all of Precious Stones, shall descend Miraculously from Heaven upon the Earth, and shall there continue a Thousand years, the Saints so long living in it in very great Glory: and, that during this space, the Resurrection of the Faithful is to be accomplished by degrees; some of them rising up sooner, and some later, according to the difference of their Merits. And hence are we to interpret that which he says in another place, to wit, *That small Sins shall be punished in Men, by the Lateness of their Resurrection:* and, *That when the Thousand years are expired, and the Destruction of the World, and the Conflagration of the Day of Judgment is past, we shall all be changed in a moment into the Nature of Angels.*

I pass by his Invektives against Second Marriages, and also his evil Opinion of all Marriage in General; these Fancies being a part of the Discipline of *Montanus* his Peractere.

But as for his Opinions touching the Baptism of Hereticks, he hath many Fellows among the Fathers, who held the same; namely, That their

*Id. lib. de An. c. 55, 56, 57, 58. Quid (in inferis) spes omni-
questatur, tota Paradisi clavis
sanguis tuis est, cap. 53. Nulli
patet cœlum, terra adhuc salva,
ne dixerim clausa.*

*Id lib. 3. adv. Marc. c. 24. Nam
& consitemur in terra nobis
regnum repromissum post re-
surrectionem in mille annos in
civitate divini operis, Hierusa-
lem cœlo delata, &c. inter quā
æratem (1000 annorum) con-
cluditur Sanctorum resurrectio,
pro meritis maturius, vel tar-
dius resurgentium.*

*Id. l. de An. c. 58. Modicum quo-
que delictum morā resurrecti-
onis illic luendum.*

*Id. lib. 3. adv. Marc. c. 29. Post
cujus mille annos, &c. tunc &
mundi destructione, & judicii
conflagratione commissa, de-
mutari in atomum in Angelicam
Substantiam; Scilicet per illud
Incorruptionis superindumen-
tum transferemur in cœlestem
Regnum, &c.*

^d Baptism.

^a Tertul. l. de Bapt. adv. Quins. c. 15. & de Pudic. l. 19. Apud nos ut ethnico par, imò & super ethnicum Hæreticus etiam per Baptisma veritatis utroque nomine purgatus admittitur.

in Body and Soul, by the Baptism of the Truth, accounting an Heretick to be in the same, or rather in a worse condition than any Pagan. And as for the rest, he is so far from pressing Men to the Baptizing of their Children while they are young, which yet is the present Custom of these Times, that he allows, and indeed perswades the Contrary, not only in Children, but even in Persons of Riper years; counselling them to

^a Id. l. de Baptism. c. 18. Itaque pro cujusque personæ conditione, ac dispositione, etiam ætate cunctatio baptismi utilior est, &c.

^b Id. lib. de Idol. 17. & 19. & lib. 1. de Cor. Mill. c. 11. Jam verò quæ sunt potestatis. neque judicet de capite alicujus, vel pudore, (feras enim de pecunia,) neque damnet, neque prædamnet, neminem vinciat, neminem recludat, aut torqueat, &c. omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando dislinxit.

every Soldiers

Belt: Which is as much as to say, That the Discipline of Christ alloweth not of the Profession of Souldiery. So that I cannot but extremely wonder at the Confidence (shall I say, or rather the Inadvertency) of

^c Pamel. in Scap. Tertul. c. 2 num 15. & in l. ad Scap. c. 2. num. 7.

some, who will needs perswade us, from a certain Passage of this Author, which themselves have very much mistaken, that this so Innocent and Peaceable Father maintained, That Hereticks are to be punished, and to be suppressed

^d Baptism signified nothing: and therefore they never received any Heretick into the Communion of the Catholick Church, but they first rebaptized him, *Cleansing him* (saith he) *both in the one, and in the other Man; that is to say, both*

in Body and Soul, by the Baptism of the Truth, accounting an Heretick to be in the same, or rather in a worse condition than any Pagan. And as for the rest, he is so far from pressing Men to the Baptizing of their Children while they are young, which yet is the present Custom of these Times, that he allows, and indeed perswades the Contrary, not only in Children, but even in Persons of Riper years; counselling them to defer it, every Man according to his Condition, Disposition, and Age. And as his Opinion, touching this Particular, is not much different from that of the Anabaptists of our Time; so doth he not much dissent from them neither in some other. For, he will not allow, no more than they do, that a Christian should take upon him, or execute any Office of Judicature, or ^e *That he should condemn, or bind, or imprison, or examine any Man; or that he should make War upon any, or serve in War under any other; saying expressly, That our Saviour Christ, by disarming S. Peter, bath from henceforth taken off*

suppressed, by inflicting upon them temporal punishments: which rigorous proceeding was as far from his thoughts, as Heaven is from Earth.

I shall add here, before I go any further, that * he held, that our Saviour Christ suffered death in the Thirtieth year of his Age, which is manifestly contrary to the Gospel: And he thought also that the † Heavenly Grace, and Prophecy ended in St. John Baptist, the Fulness of the Spirit being from henceforth transferred unto our Saviour Christ. St. Cyprian, who was Tertullians very great Admirer, calling him absolutely, The Master, and * who never let any day pass over his head, without reading something of him, hath confidently also maintained some of the aforesaid Opinions; as namely, among others, that of the Nullity of Baptism by Hereticks, † which he defendeth every where very stiffly; having also the most Eminent Men of his time consenting with him in this Point; as namely, * Firmilianus, Metropolitan of Cappadocia, † Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, together with the Councils of Africk, Cappadocia, Pamphilia, and Bithynia, notwithstanding all the Anger, and the Excommunication also of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, * who for his part held a particular Opinion of his own, allowing of the Baptism of all sorts of Hereticks, without rebaptizing any of them; as it appeareth by the Beginning of the LXXIV Epistle of St. Cyprian; whereas the Church, about some LXV years after, at the † Council of Nice, declared Null the Baptism of the Samosatzenians, by permitting, as it seems, that all other Hereticks

* Tertul. lib. adv. Jud. c. 8. Christus annos habens quasi triginta cum pateretur, &c.

† Id. de Bapt. adver. Quint. cap. 19.

* Hieron. lib. de Script. Eccl. in Tertul. Vidi ego quondam Paulum, &c. qui se B. Cypriani, &c. Notarium, &c. Romæ vidisse diceret, referriq; sibi solitum, nunquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem præterisse, ac sibi crebrius dicere, Da Magistrum, Tertullianum videlicet significans.

† Cyr. Epist. 47. ad Steph. & alibi passim.

* Firmil. Epist. 75. inter Ep. Cyr.

† Hieron. lib. de Script. Eccl.

* Cyr. epist. 74. init. ubi referuntur hæc Stephani verba. Si quis ergo à quacunque hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur ad poenitentiam, &c.

† Con. Nic. Can. 19. Πρεσβ. Παυλιανού, & προσευχόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. δεῖ ἐκλήθαι ἀνακατατίθειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου.

whatsoever should be received into the Church, without being rebaptized. But the Fathers of the * II. General Council went yet further, rebaptizing all those, no otherwise than they would have done *Pagans*, who came in from the Communion either of the *Ennomians*, *Montanists*, *Phrygians*, or *Sabellians*; or indeed any other Hereticks whatsoever, save only the *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, *Sabbatians*, *Novatians*, *Quartodecimani*, and *Apollinarians*; all which they received without *Rebaptization*, as you may see in the Greek Copies of the said Council, and the VII. Canon, which Canon you also have in the Greek Code of the Church Universal, Num. CLXX. And thus you see, that *Stephen* and *Cyprian* maintained each of them their own particular Opinion in this point; the one of them admitting, and the other utterly rejecting the Baptism of all manner of Hereticks: whereas the two aforementioned General Councils, neither admitted, nor rejected, save only the Baptism of some certain Hereticks only. But *St. Cyprian* however seems to have dealt herein much more fairly than his Adversary; seeing that † He

† *Cypr. Præfat. Conc. Carth.*
Neminem judicantes, aut à
jure Communions aliquem,
si diversum senserit, amo-
ventes.

* *Hier. contr. Lucifer. T. 2.*
p. 197. &c.

† *Firmil. epist. ad Cypr. quæ*
est 75. inter epist. *Cypr. pag.*
304.

‡ *Cypr. epist. 74. pag. 194. &*
epist. 75. quæ est Firmil.

§ *Cyp. ep. 59. p. 137. Ut intra*
octavum diem eum qui natus
est baptizandum, & sacrifici-
candum non putares.

patiently endured, and was not offended with any of those, who were of the contrary Opinion; as it appears clearly by the Synod of *Carthage*, and as it is also proved by * *St. Hierome*: whereas *Stephen*, according to his own hot, cholerick Temper, ‡ declared publicly against *Firmilianus* his Opinion, and § Excommunicated all those, that dissented from himself.

The same blessed c Martyr of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, was carried away with that Errour also of his time, touching the Necessity of administering the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist to all persons when they were Baptized, and even to Infants too, as appears by his LIX Epistle, where, by the suffrages of LXV other Bishops, he admitteth Infants to Baptism, and the Lords.

Lords Supper, so soon as ever they are born; against the Opinion of one *Fidus*, who would not admit of them till the Eighth Day after they were born: and also by that story of his, that he tells us of a certain young Girl, who being not as yet of years to speak, by a remarkable Miracle, put back the Liquor which had been consecrated for the Blood of our Saviour, and was presented unto her by a Deacon to drink in the Church; as judging her self unworthy to receive it, by reason that not long before, she had been carried to the celebration of some certain *Pagan* Sacrifices. Now the Original of this Error of theirs was, the Belief they had, that the *Eucharist* was as necessary to Salvation, as *Baptism*; as may easily be collected out of the words of the said Author, delivered *Lib. 3. Test. ad Quirin.* Where having first laid down this for a Ground; to wit, *

That no man can come into the Kingdom of God, unless he be baptized and regenerated; he produceth, for a proof hereof, first that Passage out of St. John, where it is said, that Except a man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, &c. and then this other: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you: urging the first of these places to prove the necessity of Baptism; and the other for that of the Eucharist, accounting each of them necessary to Regeneration. And hence it is, that we find him speaking so often of being born again, by virtue of the one, and of the other Sacrament: in which words he doth not mean Baptism and Confirmation (as some will needs persuade us) but rather Baptism, and the Lords Supper; as is evident also by the following words, namely, that † It is to very little purpose to be baptized, and to partake of the Holy Eucharist, unless a man proceed in good Works, &c. I shall here pass by some words, which he hath

** Id. l. 3. Test. ad Quir. Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus, & renatus quis fuerit, pervenire non posse: in Evang. secundum Joan.*

Nisi quis natus fuerit, &c. item illis: nisi ederitis carnem Filii hominis, & biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis.

† Id. ibid. c. 26. Parum esse baptizari & Eucharistiam accipere, nisi quis factis & opere proficiat, al. perficiat.

* *Id. epist. 63.* Quando nec oblatio sanctificare illic possit, ubi Spiritus Sanctus non fit, nec cuicumque Dominus per ejus orationes & preces proficit, qui Dominum ipse violavit.

sometimes let fall, * touching the Point of the Baptism of Hereticks, by which he seems to make the Efficacy of the Sacrament, to depend upon the Integrity and Sanctity of the person who administred it.

We should now come in the next place to speak of *Origen*; but since that there have been some since his time, who have very much cryed down both him and his Doctrine; and others again on the other side, who have as stily defended him, we shall forbear to say anything of him; that we may not ingage our selves in so long and tedious a Quarrel: we shall only observe, from this example of his, that neither the Antiquity, nor yet the Learning or holy Life of any man, necessarily withholdeth him from falling into very strange and gross Errors. For, *Origen* was one of the most Ancient among the Fathers, having lived about the middle of the Third Century; and having been so eminent for those two other excellencies, of Innocence and Learning, as that his fiercest Adversaries cannot deny, but that he had them both in a very high degree.

* *Epiphani. 64. Har. qua est Orig.*

Neither ought the a Story of his Fall, related by *Epiphanius*, to take off any thing from the Reputation of his Vertue: for though perhaps it might have been true, yet hath it frequently hapned to others of the Faithful to fall into great Temptations also; as appears evidently enough, by the Example of *Saint Peter* himself.

b *Baron. Annal. ad An. 253. num. 120, 121, 122.*

But, that I may not dissemble, I profess my self much inclined to be of Cardinal b *Baronius* his Opinion; who thinks this story to be an arrant Fable, maliciously devised by those who envied the Fame of this excellent, admirable Wit; and that it was foisted into *Epiphanius* by some such hand; or else (as I rather believe,) was taken upon trust by himself, and thrust into that Book of his, without any further Examination, as many other things have.

have been; in the relating whereof this Father hath shewed himself a little over-credulous; as is also observed by his † last Interpreter.

† Petav. Not.
ad Har. 55.
P. 217.

And yet *Origen*, notwithstanding all those excellent Gifts of his, hath not spared to broach very many Opinions, which by reason of the absurdness of them, have been utterly rejected (and certainly very deservedly too) by the Church in all the Ages succeeding: which is an evident Argument, that how ancient, learned, and holy soever an Author may have been, we ought not however presently to believe him, and to urge him as infallible: since there is no reason in the world to be given, why the same thing which hath befallen *Origen*, in so many Points, may not in some or other have also befallen any other Author, whosoever he be. But this I am very well assured of, that those very men, who have written against *Origen*, have not been so thoroughly happy in their undertaking; but by opposing to the utmost some certain Error of his, have sometimes fallen into as great a one of their own. * One of them for example,

Methodius by name, as he is cited by *Epiphanius*, maintains, that after the Resurrection, and Final Judgment, we shall dwell for ever upon the Earth; leading there a holy, blessed, and everlasting life; exercising our selves in all good things, like as the Angels do in Heaven.

He also as well as the rest, maketh the Angels obnoxious to the Love of Women: and he will have Gods Providence to extend it self only to *Universal Causes*, affirming, that † He hath committed the Care of Particular things to the Angels: which Opinions of his, if they be thoroughly examined, will be found to be not much less dangerous, and contrary to the Scriptures, than some of those very Opinions, which he reproves in *Origen*. I shall also, for the

same

* *Method. apud Epiphan. in Panar. har. 54. que est Orig. ταρχιδίσεως ὡς γὰρ τὴν κτίσιν, ἡ μὲν πολλοῦς προσδοκῆσθαι, ὅπως ἀνακαινοποιηθῶσι ἐν ἀνακαινοποιήσει κόσμῳ ἄνθρωποι λύτης καλοκήσονται.*

Id. ibid. ὡς περ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα σαρκῶν ἐρεθίσαι, καὶ ταῖς ἡδ. ἀνθρώπων εἰς εἰλοκοτίαν ὁμιλήσαντες συγχαίρειν.

† *Id. ibid. ἵνα τὰς ὡς παντελεῖαν καὶ γλυστοκίαν ἔχον ὁ θεὸς ἡδ. ὅλων πεποιται, καὶ ὁ δὲ μέγας οἱ ὅτι τῶν ταχέως ἀγγελοι.*

same reason, pass by *Eusebius, Didymus, Apollinaris*, and the like; who though they are very Ancient Authors, yet there is ordinarily little account made of them, by reason of the hard Opinion, that the greatest part of the Church had of them.

As for the two first of these, (although perhaps their Faith may not have been much freer from stains than the rest,) they have yet been more favourably dealt withal by Posterity, than their brethren; whether it were, because that the time they lived in being so far distant from the Ages of our *Aristarchi*, and Censors of other men, they have so much the less moved their envy and passion: or else because that they were willing to spare them, by reason of the Great Opinion that the Ordinary sort in the Church had of them. *Lactantius Firmianus*, whose Reputation was scarcely questioned at all among the Ancients, had notwithstanding his Errours too. For it is a long

time since, that * *St. Hierome* observed one very strange one in him, in an Epistle that he wrote to *Demetrianus*; where he denies, that *The Holy Ghost is a Distinct Person in the Godhead, subsisting together with the Father and the Son*. His other Errours are not so dangerous, and are indeed common to him, with some other of the Fathers: as, where he says, † that the Angels defiled themselves with Women; and that from this their companying with them were born *Demons*, or *Devils*. As likewise where he teacheth, * *That the Souls of Men, after this life, are all shut up together in one Common Prison, where they are to continue till the Day of Judgment*: and, *That our Saviour Christ shall come again upon the Earth, before the Last and Final Resurrection; and that † those who shall then be found alive, shall not dye at*

* *Hieron. epist. 65. ad Pam. & Othav.* Lactantius in libris suis, ut maxime in Epistolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritus Sancti omnino negat substantiam, & errore Judaico dicit, eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, & sanctificationem utriusque personae sub ejus nomine demonstrari.

† *Laſt. Firm. lib. 2. divin. Instit. cap. 15.*

* *Id. lib. 7. cap. 21. extr.* Omnes (Animæ) in una communique custodia detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus iudex meritum faciat examen.

† *Id. lib. 7. c. 24.* Tum qui erunt in corporibus vivi, non morientur, sed per eisdem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt, &c. qui autem ab inferis suscitabuntur, si præbunt viventibus velut Iudices.

, all,

all, but shall be preserved alive, and shall beget an infinite Number of Children, during the space of a Thousand years; living all of them peaceably together, in a most happy City, which shall abound with all good things, under the Reign of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of some of the Saints, who shall be raised from the Dead.

But what will you say, if St. Hilary also himself who flourished about the middle of the Fourth Century, hath his Tares also; which are so much the more observable in him, by how much the greater his estimation was among the Ancients. The principal and most dangerous of all is, that strange Opinion which he held, touching the Nature of Christ's Body, which he maintained had no sense, or feeling of those stripes and torments which he suffered, * But that he really suffered indeed at that time, when he was beaten, and when he was put upon the Cross, and fastened unto it, and died upon it: but, that this Passion falling wholly upon his Body, notwithstanding that it was a real Passion; yet did it not shew upon him the Nature of a Passion; and that while the furious strokes were dealt upon him, the strength and vigour of his Body received the force of the strokes upon it, yet without any sense of the pain. I shall confess (saith he) that the Body of our Saviour had a Nature susceptible of our griefs, if the Nature of our Body be such, as that it is able to tread upon the water, and to walk upon the floods without sinking, or without the Waters yielding to our Footsteps, when we stand thereon: if it can penetrate solid bodies, or can pass with ease through doors that are shut. And within two or three lines after: Such is the Man sent from God, having a Body capable of Suffering, (for heatur enim propriæ, ac suæ corpus illud est, quod in

* Hilary. de Trin. l. 10. Passus quidem Dominus Jesus Christus dum caditur, dum suspenditur, dum crucifigitur, dum moritur; sed in corpus irruens Passio, nec non fuit Passio, nec tamen naturam Passionis exercuit, dum & pœnali ministerio illa defævit, & virtus corporis sine sensu pœnæ vim pœnæ in se defævientis excepit; habuit sanè illud Domini corpus doloris nostri naturam, si corpus nostrum id naturæ habet, ut calcet undas, & super fluctus eat, & non deprimatur ingressu, neque aquæ insistentis vestigiis cedant: ponatur etiam solida, nec clausæ domus obstaculis arceatur.

Et paulò post: Et homo ille de Deo est, habens ad patendum quidem corpus, ut passus est; sed naturam non habens ad dolendum. Natura enim propriæ, ac suæ corpus illud est, quod in cœlestem gloriam, transfor-

really.

Id. ibid. In quo quamvis aut ictus inciderit, aut vulnus descenderit, aut nodi concurrerint, aut suspensio elevarit, afferunt quidem hæc impetum passionis, non tamen dolorem passionis inferunt: aut telum aliquod, aut aquam perforans, aut ignem compungens, aut æra vulnerans, omnes quidem has passiones naturæ suæ infert, ut perforer, ut compungat, ut vulneret, sed naturam suam in hæc passio illa non retinet, dum in natura non est vel aquam forari, vel pungi ignem, vel æra vulnerari, quamvis natura teli sit vulnerare, compungere, & forare.

† *Hilar. in Ps. 43.* Suscepta voluntariè est (passio) officio quidem ipsa satisfactura poenali, non tamen poenæ sensu læsura patientem, &c.

* *Id. in Ps. 138.* Putatur dolere, quia patitur; caret verò doloribus ipse, quia Deus est.

think now,

whereunto all this tendeth, and what will become of our Salvation, if the Passion of our Saviour Christ, which is the only Foundation whereon it is built, were but a meer imaginary Passion, without any sense of pain at all. And, as one absurdity being granted, there will necessarily others always follow upon it; so hath this strange particular Fancy of his made him to corrupt and spoil the whole story of our Saviours Passion.

For, he supposeth that, in that dismal night, wherein Christ was delivered up for our sins, all his anguish, his distress,

really suffered;) but not having a Nature capable of pain. When the blows (said he a little before) fell upon him, or a stripe pierced his skin, it brought indeed with it the violence and impetuosity of Passion, but yet it wrought no pain in him: in like manner as when a sword is thrust through and through the water, or through and through the fire; it goes through indeed, and pierceth the water, or the fire, but it woundeth it not; these things having not a Nature that may be wounded or hurt, notwithstanding that the Nature of the sword be to work the said effect. And in conclusion, that you may not think this to be a sudden fancy, that he fell upon by chance, before he was aware; you must know that he repeats the same thing in divers several places: as namely, in his Comment upon the *Psalm. 53.* † *The Passion of Christ* (saith he) *was undergone by him voluntarily, to make an acknowledgment, that pains were due; not that he that suffered, was at all touched by them.* * And again, in another place; *Christ is thought to have felt pain, because he suffered; but he was really free from all pain, because he is God.* Do but

think now,

whereunto all this tendeth, and what will become of our Salvation, if the Passion of our Saviour Christ, which is the only Foundation whereon it is built, were but a meer imaginary Passion, without any sense of pain at all. And, as one absurdity being granted, there will necessarily others always follow upon it; so hath this strange particular Fancy of his made him to corrupt and spoil the whole story of our Saviours Passion.

Distress, and Drops of Bloody Sweats, proceeded not from the consideration of the Torments, and the Death which He was now going to suffer, (and indeed, according to his Account, since he will not allow him to have felt any Pain, he was neither bound to be, nor indeed could be in any Agony,) but rather from the fear that he was in, ^a lest his Disciples, being scandalized at these Sad sights, might haply have sinned against the Holy Ghost, by denying his Godhead: And that from hence it was, that S Peter, in his Denial of his Master, used these words, *Non novi hominem*, I know him not as Man; because that whatsoever is spoken against the Son of Man, may be forgiven. ^b And so likewise in these words of our Saviour, *O my Father, if it be Possible, let this Cup pass from me*: His Opinion is, that our Saviour did not here desire that He himself might be delivered from his Passion, but rather, that after He had suffered, His Disciples might also suffer in like manner: that this Cup might not rest at Him, but that it might pass on to His Disciples also; that is to say, that it might be drunk by Them in the same manner, as He himself was now going to taste of it, to wit, without any touch of Despair or Distrust, and without any sense of Pain, or fear of Death. What could have been written more Coldly, or more disagreeing with the Truth and Simplicity of the Gospel? But yet I cannot sufficiently wonder at him, that having thus rarified the *Flesh* of our Saviour *Christ* into a *Spirit*, he should in another place condense Our *Spirit*, into *Bodies*. ^c *There is nothing* (saith he) *which is not Corporeal in its Substance and Creation, &c.* For, the Species of our Souls themselves, whether they be united to the Body,

^a *Id. in Matth. Can. 31.* Scribit exterrandos, fugandos, negaturos; sed quia spiritus blasphemix nec hic, nec in aeternum remittitur, metuit ne se Deum abnegent, quem caelum, & consputum, & crucifixum essent contemplaturi; quæ ratio servata est in Petro: qui cum negaturus esset, ita negavit, Non novi hominem: quia dictum aliquod in filium hominis remittitur.

^b *Id. ibid.* Transeat Calix à me, id est, quomodo à me bibitur, ita ab iis bibatur, sine spei diffidentia, sine sensu doloris, sine metu mortis, &c.

^c *Ser. in Matth. Can. 3.* Nihil est quod non in substantia sua, & creatione corporeum sit, &c. Nam & animarum species five obtinentium corpora, five corporibus exulantium, corpoream tamen naturæ substantiam sortiuntur.

or are separated from them, are still a Nature whose Substance is Corporeal. He believeth also, that ^d Baptism

^d*Id. in Ps. 118. tit. Gimel. Est ergo, quantum licet existimare, perfectæ illius emundatio puritatis, etiam post Baptismi aquas reposita, &c.*

Id. ibid. In quo (die iudicii) nobis est ille indefessus igitur obsecrans, in quo subeunda sunt graviora illa Expianzi ad peccata Animæ supplicia. Beata Mariæ animam gladius pertransivit, ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes. Si in iudicii severitatem capax illa Del Virgo ventura est, desiderare quis audebit ad Deo iudicari? *Paul. ad*

doth not cleanse us from all our Sins; and therefore he holds, That all Men must at the last Day pass through the Fire. *We are Then* (saith he) *to endure an Indefatigable Fire: Then is the time that we are to undergo those grievous Torments, for the Expiation of our Sins, and Purging our Souls. A Sword shall pierce through the Soul of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the end that the Thoughts of many Hearts may be revealed. Seeing therefore, that that Virgin, who was capable of receiving God, shall taste of so severe a Judgment, where is he that dares desire to be judged of God? I*

know not whether he might heretofore have persuaded any store of People to embrace this Doctrine of his, or not: but sure I am, that were he alive at this day, he would take but a vain piece of Labour in hand, if he should go about to win the *Franciscan Friars* over to this Belief.

S. Ambrose, one of the most Firm Pillars of the Church in his Time, is not yet free from the like Failings, no more than the rest.

For, first of all, he agrees with S. Hilary in this last Point, and maintains, That All in General shall be proved by Fire at the Last Day; and, that the Just shall pass through it, but that the Unbelievers shall continue in it. ^f After the end of the World (saith he) the Angels being sent forth to sever the Good from the Bad, shall that Baptism be performed; when all Iniquity shall be consumed in a Furnace of Fire, that so the Just may shine like the Sun in the Kingdom of God their Father. And although

¶ *Ambr. in Pf. 118. Ser. 5.* Si quidem post consummationem sæculi missi Angelis qui segregant bonos & malos, hoc futurum est Baptisma, quando per seminum ignis iniquitas exuretur, ut in Regno Dei fulgeant Iusti, sicut sol, in Regno Patris sui. Et si aliquis, ut Petrus sit, ut Johannes, baptizatur hoc igne. Veniet ergo Baptisma Migneus, (sic enim cum nomino) quo modo Gabriel, &c.

though a Man be such a one as Peter, or as John, yet nevertheless shall be be Baptized with this Fire. For the Great Baptizer shall come, (for so I call Him, as the Angel Gabriel did, saying, He shall be Great) and shall see a multitude of People, standing before the Gate of Paradise, and shall brandish the fiery Sword, and shall say unto those who are on his Right Hand, who are not guilty of any grievous Sins, Enter ye in, &c.

He says the same in another place also, where he exempteth none from this Fiery Trial, save onely our Saviour Christ alone. *It is Necessary* (saith

he) *that All that desire to return into Paradise, should be proved by this Fire.* For it is not without some Mystery that it is written, *That God having driven Adam and Eve out of Paradise, He is said to place at the Entrance of Paradise a Flaming Sword, which turned every way.* All must pass through the Flames, whether it be John the Evangelist, whom our Saviour loved so much, that He said concerning him, to Peter, &c. Or whether it be Peter himself, who had the Keys of Heaven committed unto him, and who walked upon the Sea. He must be able to say, *We have passed through the Fire, &c.* But as for S. John, this Brandishing of the Flaming Sword will soon be dispatched for him, because there is no Iniquity found in him, who was so beloved of the Truth, &c. But the other (that is, Peter) shall be tried as Silver is; and I shall be tried like Lead, I shall burn till all the Lead is quite melted down; and if there be no Silver at all found in me, (wretched Man that I am!) I shall be cast into the lowest Pit of Hell.

As for the Resurrection of the Dead, his Opinion is,

Ll 2

That

2^a in 2^a Ser 20. Omnes oportet per ignem probari quicunque ad Paradisum redire desiderant. Non enim otiose scriptum est, quod eiecit Adam & Eva, posuit Deus in exitu Paradisi gladium igneum versatilem. Omnes oportet transire per flammam, sive Joannes Evangelista sit, quem ita dilexit Dominus ut de eo diceret ad Petrum, &c. Sive ille sit Petrus qui Claves accepit Regni celorum, qui supra mare ambulavit, oportet dicat Transivimus per ignem, &c. Sed Joanni cito versabitur igneus gladius, quia non invenitur in eo iniquitas, quem dilexit equitas, &c. Sed ille (Petrus) examinabitur ut argentum; Ego examinabor ut plumbum, donec plumbum tabescat ardebo, si nihil argenti in me inventum fuerit, (heu me!) in ultima inferni detrudat.

^a *Id. l. de Fid. Resurrectionis. Li-
cet in momento resuscitentur
omnes, omnes tamen merito-
rum ordine suscitantur.*

ⁱ *Id. in Ps. 1. Beati qui habent
partem in prima resurrectione:
isti enim sine iudicio veniunt
ad gratiam. Qui autem non
veniunt ad primam resurrecti-
onem, sed ad secundam refer-
vantur, isti urentur donec im-
pleant tempora inter primam
& secundam resurrectionem:
aut si non impleverint, diutius
in supplicio permanebunt.*

in their Torments. I shall leave to the Reader to take the pains in examining, whether or no that Passage of his can be reconciled to any good sense, where he says, That before the Publication of the Law of Moses, Adultery was

^a *Ambros. l. 1. de Abr. Patr. c. 4.
Sed consideremus primum, quia
Abraham ante Legem Moyſis
& ante Evangelium fuit, non-
dum interdictum adulterium
videbatur. Poena criminis &
tempore Legis est, nec ante
Legem ulla rei damnatio est,
sed ex Lege.*

That^b All shall not be raised at once, but by degrees, one after another, by a Long, yet Certain Order; those who were Believers rising first, according to the degrees of their Merits: Whereto we are to refer that which he hath elsewhere delivered, saying, Thatⁱ *Those who are raised up in the First Resurrection, shall come to Grace, without Judgment; but as for the rest, who are reserved for the Second Resurrection they shall burn with Fire, till they have fulfilled the full space of time betwixt the First and the Second Resurrection: or, if they do not finish this time, they shall continue very long*

not an unlawful thing. ^b *We are to take notice in the first place (saith he) that Abraham living before the giving of the Law by Moses, and before the Gospel, in all Probability, Adultery was not as yet forbidden: the Crime is punished after the time of the Law made, which forbiddeth it; for things are not condemned before the Law, but by*

the Law: and whether those Discourses of his, which you meet with in his Books, De Instit. Virg. & ad Virg. & de Virg. and in other places, do not much disgrace, and cast Slurs upon the Honour of Marriage.

I shall also leave to the Consideration of the Judicious Reader, whether there be more of Solidity, or of Subtily, in that Exposition which he gives us of the Promise made by God to Noah after the Flood; telling him, That He had set his Bow in the Clouds, to be a Token of a Covenant betwixt him and the whole Earth: upon which words, S. Ambrose utterly and fiercely denies,

denies, that by this *Bow* is meant the *Rain-bow*; but will have it to be I know not what strange Allegorical Bow.

Far be it from us (saith he) that we should call This God's Bow; for This Bow, which is called Iris, (the Rain bow) is seen indeed in the Day-time, but never appears at all in the Night. And therefore he understands by this Bow, the Invisible Power of God,

Id. lib. de Noe, & Arca, c. 27. Absit ut hunc arcum Dei dicamus; hic enim arcus, qui Iris dicitur, per diem videri solet, per noctem non apparet, &c. Est ergo virtus invisibilis Dei, &c.

by which He keepeth all things in one certain Measure, enlarging and abating it as he sees cause. Neither do I know whether that Opinion of his, which you have in his First Book *De Spiritu Sancto*, is any whit more justifiable, where he affirms, That *Baptism* is available and Legitimate, although a Man should Baptize in the Name either of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost onely, without mentioning the other two Persons of the Trinity.

Id. lib. 1. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 3.

Epiphanius, as he was a Man of a very good, honest, and plain Nature, and (if I may have leave to speak my own Opinion) a little too Credulous, and withal very eager and fierce in maintaining whatsoever he thought was Right and True; so hath he the more easily been induced both to deliver and to receive things for Solid, which yet were not so; and to stand stiffly in the defending of them, after he had once embraced the same. It would take up both too much time and Paper, if I should go about to give you a List of all those things wherein he hath failed: if you please, you may have an Account of a good number of them in the Notes of the Jesuite *Petavius*, his Interpreter; who makes bold to correct him many times, and sometimes also very uncivilly too.

As, first of all, he accuseth him of Obscurity, and of Falshood also, in the Opinion he held touching the Year, and Day of *our Saviour's Nativity*; saying, that some of his Expressions, touching this Point, are more Obscure and Dark than the Riddles of *Sphinx*. And truly he hath

Petav. in Epi. phan. p. 127.

hath reason enough to say so, of what he hath delivered touching the Year of our Saviours Nativity; but, as for the Day of that Year, whether it were the *Sixth of January*, as *Epiphanius* held, with the Church of Egypt, or else, whether it were the *Twenty fifth of December*, which is the General Opinion at this day; I think it very great rashness for any Man to affirm either the one or the other; neither of these Opinions having any better Ground the one than the other.

*Petav. ibid. ad
Har. 70. num.
10.*

He likewise in plain terms gives him the Lie, upon that place where he says, That in the beginning of the Church the Apostles had ordained, That the *Christians* should celebrate the *Passover* at the same time, and in the same manner. that those of the *Circumcision* did: and that those who were then made Bishops at *Jerusalem* being of the *Circumcision*, it was necessary that all the World should follow them, and should likewise keep the *Passover* as they did.

Neither do I see whereupon he could ground that Fancy of his, which he proposeth to us as a Certain Truth;

Epiphan. in Pan. cap. 1. Har. 39.

Ἦκεν γὰρ αἰεὶ ὁ Θεὸς πα-
ταγνυμένων τῶν Χριστῶν παρ-
ορίαν λυτρώσιν ἐσθωπύλῳ τοῦ
ἁμαρτησάντων, καὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ
μετανοούντων, ἐν ὁμίᾳ τῇ τοῦ
ἑαυτῶν τινος ἑλένης. Ὅτε δὲ
δὲν ὁ τάλας καὶ Χριστὸν μὴ δεξά-
μενον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ αὐτῆς ἐκ-
σεφύλω, &c.

namely, *That the Devil, before the coming of Christ, was in hopes of Grace and Pardon; and that, out of this Persuasion of his, he never all that while shewed himself Refractory toward God: but that having understood by the Manifestation of our Saviour, that there was left him no hopes of Salvation, he from thenceforth had grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much mischief*

as possibly he could against Christ and his Church.

S. Hierome, the Boldest and most Judicious Censurer of the Ancients, hath also left to Posterity something whereon they may exercise the same Critical Faculty that he hath so happily employed upon others. For, how should a Man be able to make good that which he hath affirmed so positively, touching God's Providence, where he says, That it takes care of All Men indeed in

General,

General, and also of each Particular Man; but not of other things, whether they be Inanimate, or Irrational.

^p *It is an absurd thing (saith he) so to abase the Majesty of God, as to make him take particular notice how many Gnats are bred, or die every hour; and how many Punefes, Fleas, and Flies there are through the whole Earth; and, how many Fishes swim in the Water; and, which among the smaller Fishes are to be a Prey to the greater. Let us not be such foolish Flatterers of God, as by making His Power descend even to the Lowest things, to disparage our selves, while we say, that His Providence in like manner extendeth both to Rational and Irrational Creatures. I shall not examine here, whether this Opinion be justifiable, or not: but this I am sure of, that you will hardly be able to make it good, out of these Words of our Saviour Christ, Are not two Sparrows sold for a Farthing? and yet one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But yet supposing that this Opinion might be defended, it is however evident, that this Father hath lashed out a little too much, when he derides all those, as Fools, and absurd People, who chuse rather to adore the Knowledge of God, as Infinite, than to bound it, and make it Finite: and for my part, I should rather fear, that there would be much more Rashness in the one, than Foolishness in the other.*

This same Man, who here limiteth the Knowledge and Providence of God, in another place extendeth to an Infiniteness the Presence of the Souls of Departed Saints; by no means enduring them to be confined, and shut up in any certain place. And the Reason which he gives us of this his Opinion, is indeed very wonderful: For,

^q *They always follow the Lamb (saith he)*

^p *Hier. Com. 1. in Abac. Ceterum absurdum est ad hoc Dei deducere Majestatem, ut sciat per singula momenta quot nascantur culices, quotve moriantur, quot cimicum, & pulicum, & muscarum sit in terra multitudo, quanti pisces in aqua nacent, & qui de minoribus majorum prædæ cedere debeant. Non sumus tam fatui adulatores Dei, ut dum potentiam ejus ad ima detrahimus, in nos ipsos injuriosi simus, eandem rationabilium quam irrationabilium Providentiam esse dicentes.*

^q *Hier. contr. Vigil. Tom. 2. p. 161. Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit: si Agnus ubique, &c. & sic qui cum Agno sunt ubique esse credendi sunt.*

whither-

whithersoever He goeth; forasmuch therefore as the Lamb is present every where, we ought to believe that They also, who are with the Lamb, are present every where.

Where are those Logick-Schools, how loose and remiss soever they be, that would not give a Scholar the *Ferula*, if he should but offer to argue thus, confounding the *Divinity* and *Humanity* of our Saviour together; and from that which is spoken in respect of the one, concluding that which is proper to the other? So in another place, for to bring all the several pieces of an Allegory together, and to make them meet in their proper Point, ^r he makes the Souls of the Blessed Saints, and of the Angels themselves, subject to Sin.

^r *Id. Ep. 164. ad Pamm. T. 3. p. 210.* Nulli periculosum, nulli videatur esse blasphemum, quod & in Apostolos invidiæ venenum diximus potuisse subreperere, cum etiam de Angelis hoc dictum putamus, &c.

I shall pass by what he hath spoken so reproachfully, both against Marriage in General, and against Second Marriages in Particular; where he useth such unfavoury Expressions, as that though we should in the explaining of them, follow those very Rules which he himself hath laid down to us, in an Epistle of his, written to *Pammachius*, upon this very subject; it seems notwithstanding an impossible thing to acquit him from holding the same Opinion touching Marriage, that *Tertullian* did, which was condemned by the Church, as being contrary to the Honour of Marriage, and the Authority of the Scripture. As for example, What Honey, or how much Sugar would be sufficient to

^r *Id. ep. 10. ad Fur. T. 1. p. 89. & 101.* Ut non tam laudanda, si vidua perseveres, quam excrandā, si id Christiana non servas, quod per tanta sæcula Gentiles foemina custodierunt. Max. p. 90. Canis revertens ad vomitum, & sus lota ad volutabrum luti.

sweeten that which he says, ^r writing to a certain Widow, named *Furia*, where he tells her, *That she was not so worthy to be Commended, if she continued a Widow, as she would be to be cursed, if she married again; seeing she was not able, being a Christian, to preserve that, which many Women of her Family had done, being but Pagans.* Which Expressions of his he repeateth again in the following Epistle, where he dissuadeth one *Ageruchia* from

from marrying again; and for this purpose makes use of very unbecoming Comparisons; applying to such Women, as marry again, that Proverb which St. Peter made use of in another sense; *The Dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the Sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.* Is not this all one, as if he in plain terms ranked *second Marriages among unclean and polluted things?* Not unlike to this is that which he saith in another place, in these words. † *I do not at all condemn those, who marry the second, third, or (if any such thing may be) the eighth time: nay, more than so, I receive also even a Penitent Whore:* placing those Women that marry the second time, in the same rank with those that keep in the stews. And he is so full of such expressions as these, as that the whole Canary Islands themselves would hardly be sufficient to sweeten them.

Certainly if he had not believed, that there was some Uncleanncss in Marriage, he would never have been so unwilling, * as he was, to speak out, and confess in plain terms, that *Adam* should nevertheless have had carnal knowledge of *Eve* his Wife, though they had both of them continued in their state of *Innocence*: which thing is evident enough to any one that shall but consider the second Chapter of *Genesis*, from *vers. 18.* to the end of the Chapter.

Nevertheless this Father durst not positively affirm any such thing, fearing lest he might so impose some unclean thing upon the state of *Innocence*, in case he should have allowed them the Use of Marriage. Neither is his Opinion more sound, touching the *Eating of Flesh*, which being unknown to the World before the Flood, was afterwards permitted unto Mankind; but (as he believes) in the very same manner; as *Divorce* was heretofore per-

Id. l. Ep. 11. ad Ageruch. T. 1. p. 101. Hæc brevi Sermone perstrinxi, ut ostendam adolescentulam meam non præstare monogamiam generi suo, sed reddere; nec tam laudandam esse si tribit, quam omnibus execrandam si negare tentaverit.

† *Id. lib. 1. adv. Fovin. p. 4.* Non damno digamos, imò nec trigamos; & si dici potest octogamos: Plus aliquid inferam, etiam scortantem recipio poenitentem.

* *Id. lib. 1. adv. Fovin. p. 51.* Quod si objeceris, antequam peccarent, sexum viri & feminae fuisse divisum, & absq; peccato eos potuisse conjungi, quid futurum fuerit incertum est, &c.

mitted to the *Jews*, only for the hardness of their heart.

Whence it followeth, (as he also says in expresse Terms) that it also was abolished by our Saviour Christ, in like manner as *Divorce* and *Circumcision* were. † And where-

† *Hieron. lib. 1. adv. Jovin.*
Quod autem nobis obicit
in secunda Dei benedictio-
ne comedendarum carni-
um licentiam datam, quæ
in prima concessa non fue-
rat; sciat, quomodo repu-
dium juxta eloquium salva-
toris ab initio non dabatur,
sed propter duritiam cordis
nostri per Moysen humano
generi concessum est, sic &
esum carniū usque ad di-
luvium ignotum fuisse; post
diluvium verò quasi in ere-
mo murmuranti populo co-
turnices, ita dentibus nostris
nervos, & virulentias carnis
ingestas.

as it is objected against us by *Jovinian*, (saith
he) that God in the Second Benediction per-
mitted the Eating of *Flesh*, which he did
not in the First: be it to take notice, that in
like manner as the liberty to put away a mans
wife, according to the words of our Saviour,
was not granted from the beginning, but was
afterwards permitted to mankind, for the
hardness of their heart: in like manner was
the Eating of *Flesh* unknown, until the Flood;
but after the Flood, the Sinews and Virulency
of *Flesh* were thrust into our Mouths, as the
Quails were given to the People of *Israel* mur-
muring in the Wilderness. Certainly *Di-
vorce* is a thing which is evil in it self, and
is contrary to the Creation of the Man and
of the Woman, and to Marriage also, which

was instituted by God in Paradise: as is divinely proved
by our Saviour, disputing with the *Jews* touching this
Point.

If therefore the *Eating of Flesh* be like it, this also is
evil and unlawful in it self. *Marcion*, and the *Mani-
chees* could hardly have said more than
this.

In another place he seems to be of Opini-
on, * that our Saviour hath utterly forbidden
the use of an *Oath* to Christians: which piece
of Doctrine is evidently contrary both to the
Scriptures, and to Reason.

It will be a hard matter also to clear him
from the suspicion of that Errour, some Tra-
ces whereof are apparently to be seen in *St.*
Cyprian, touching the Efficacy of the Sacra-
ments;

* *Hieron. Com. in Matth. 23.*
p. 15. Hoc quasi parvulis
Judæis fuerat lege concess-
um, ut quo modo victimas
immolabant Deo, ne eas
Idolis immolarent, sic &
jurare permitterentur in
Deum; non quod rectè hoc
facerent, sed quod melius
esset hoc Deo id exhibere,
quàm Dæmonibus. Evan-
gelica autem veritas non
recipit juramentum, &c.

ments; as we have observed before. For, do but hear what he says. † *The Priests also*, (saith he) *who serve at the Eucharist, and distribute the Blood of our Saviour to his People, commit a great impiety against the Law of Christ, in thinking that the Eucharist is made by the Words, and not by the Life of the Person that Consecrates it; and that the Solemn Prayers only of the Priests are necessary, and not their Merits also.*

Touching the state of the Blessed after the Resurrection, he says neither but very faintly, that they shall live without eating. * *What then will you say, (these be his own words,) shall we then eat after the Resurrection? I know not that, I confess; for we find no such thing written: Yet if I were to speak my Opinion, I do not think we shall eat.*

And to give our Judgment in general of this Author, I do not know whether or no we may allow for good, and perfectly conformable to the Discipline of our Saviour Christ, the course which he ordinarily observes in his Disputations, wresting the words of his Adversaries, quite besides the Authors intention; and framing to himself such a sense, as is not at all to be found in them; and then fiercely encountering this Giant of his own making, mixing withal strange abusive language, and biting Girds, and the like tart expressions borrowed from profane Authors; in which kind of Learning he was indeed very excellent. St. Augustine in the Contestation, that he had with him, said, that the † Holy Ceremonies of the Jews, though they were abolished by Jesus Christ, might yet not withstanding in the beginning of Christianity be observed by those, who had been brought up in them from their Infancy, even after they had believed in Jesus Christ, provided only, that they did not put their trust in them: because that that Salvation, which was

† *Id. Com. in Soph. Tom. 3. p. 489. Sacerdotes quoque qui Eucharistia serviunt, & sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt, impiè agunt in legem Christi, putantes Eucharistiam imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; & necessariam esse tantum solemnem Orationem, & non Sacerdotum merita.*

* *Idem Epist. 61. ad Pammach. Tom. 2. pag. 252. Ergo, inquires, & nos post Resurrectionem comeduri sumus? Nescio; non enim scriptum est: & tamen si quaeritur, non puto comeduros.*

† *Aug. Ep. ad Hier. quæ est 87. inter Ep. Hier. Tom. 2. pag. 518.*

signified by these Holy Ceremonies, was imparted unto us by *Jesus Christ*, which Doctrine of his is both godly, and consonant also to what is urged by *St. Paul*, in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and elsewhere; touching *Christian Liberty*, by which we both may, and ought to use, or abstain from such things, as are in themselves indifferent, according as shall be requisite for the Edification

* *Hier. ep. 89 ad Aug. Tom. 2. pag. 325.* Hoc si placer, imo quia placer, ut quicunque credunt ex Judæis debitores sint legis faciendæ; tu, ut Episcopus in toto orbe notissimus, debes hanc promulgare sententiam, & in assensum tuum omnes coepiscopos trahere.

of our Neighbour. Now * *St. Hierome* here will needs make him believe, that his meaning is, that all those who believed among the *Jews*, were subject to the Law, and that the *Gentiles* were the only People, whom the Faith in Christ had exempted from this Yoke. And then presently doth he hereupon take occasion to pass as tart, and as biting a Jeer upon him, as he could; saying, that

since it was so, that all the Believers among the *Jews* were bound to observe the *Law*, *St. Augustine* himself, who was the most Eminent Bishop in the whole World, should do well to publish this his Opinion, and to endeavour to bring over all his fellow Bishops to be of his mind. But he had then to deal with an able Adversary, and one that knew well enough how to make good his words, and to clear them from that Interpretation that the other had put upon them, and to overthrow whatsoever he had impertinently urged against him; as

† *Aug. Epist.*

Hier. quæ est

97. inter Epist.

Hier. Tom. 2.

pag. 359.

Ep. 289. ad Aug.

Ep. 289. ad Aug.

Ep. 289. ad Aug.

Ep. 289. ad Aug.

Ep. 289. ad Aug.

any may see, in that † Excellent and Divine Answer of his to *St. Hierome*, touching this Point, and the whole substance of his Letter. The Case was otherwise betwixt him and *Ruffinus*: for there he grappled with one much below his Match, and dealt his blows upon an arrant Wooden Statue; one that had scarcely any Reason in what he said, and yet much less dexterity in defending himself.

But the sport of it is, to see that after he hath handsomly belaboured, and pricked this pitiful thing, from head to foot, and sometimes till the blood followed, he

he at length protesteth, *at the end of his first Book, that *He had spared him for the Love of God*, and *that he had not afforded words to his troubled breast*; and *had set a watch before his mouth*; according to the Example of the Psalmist.

And in another place he reads him a long Lecture, † telling him that they were not to use railing Language in their Disputations, nor to leave the Question in hand; and to labour to bring in what Accusations they could against each other, which are more proper at a Bar, than in the Church, and fitter to stuff a Lawyers Bill, than a Church-mans Papers.

'Tis true indeed, that those who have been galled by him, are themselves to blame: for as much as of his own candid disposition, courteously gave them warning himself; telling them before-hand, that *Those that meddle with him, had to do with a Horned Beast*. And yet some perhaps may still very much wonder, how it should come to pass, that all those *Watchings*, and *strict Discipline* which he endured in *Bethlehem*, and the *Desart of Arabia* should not have mortified these *Horns*: to which I have no more to say, but this; that God by a certain secret and wise Judgment, hath suffered these Holy men, notwithstanding all those excellent Gifts of Charity, Patience, and Meekness wherewith they were abundantly endued, sometimes to let fall such slips as these upon several particular occasions; to let us understand, that there is nothing absolutely perfect; but God alone; all men, how accomplished soever they can possibly be, carrying always about them some Reliques of Humane Infirmary.

But however it be, this Course of *St. Hierome's* makes me doubt; that he hath dealt no better with others than he hath with *St. Augustine*, wresting their words much further than he ought to have done. But sometimes he goes further yet, and speaks even of the Pen-men of the

* *Hier. lib. 1. contr. Ruf. T. 2. pag. 311.* Sentisne quid taceam, quod afluente pectori verba non commodem? & cum Psalmista loquar, pone Domine custodiam oris meo, &c.

† *Id in Apol. adv. Ruf. Tom. 2. pag. 373.* Quis omnia causa in superflua criminum objectione versatus est? quæ non Chartæ Ecclesiasticæ, sed libelli debent Judicium continere.

* *Id. Apol. 1. contr. Ruf. T. 2. pag. 311.* Hoc unum denuncio, & repetens iterum iterumque monebo, corruptam bestiam petis.

Old and New Testament in so disrespectful a manner, as that I am very much unsatisfied with these his doings. As, for example, where he says in plain Terms without any

Circumlocution, that the † Inscription of the Altar at *Athens* was not expressed in those very words which are delivered by St. Paul, in the *Acts*, Chap. 17. TO THE UNKNOWN GOD, but in other Terms, thus: *To the Gods of Europe, Asia, and of A- trick; to the Unknown and Foreign Gods.* So likewise where he tells us, and repeats the same too in many several places, that * St. Paul knew not how to speak, nor to make a Discourse hang together: and, that he makes Solæcisms sometimes; and that he knew not how to render an Hyperbaton, nor to conclude a Sentence: and that he was not able to express his own deep Conceptions in the Greek Tongue: and that he had no good utterance, but had much ado to deliver his mind. And again in another place he tells us, that *It was not out of modesty, but it was the plain, naked truth that he told us, when the Apostle said of himself; that he was Imperitus Sermone, Rude in Speech; because that the truth is, He could not deliver his mind to others, in clear and intelligible Language.* And he says moreover, which is yet much worse than all the rest, that * the Apostle dissenting with the Galati-

ans

† *Hier. Com. in Epist. ad Tit. Tom 6.* Inscriptio autem aræ non ita erat, ut Paulus asseruit, Ignoto Deo, sed ita: Deis Europæ, Asiæ, & Africæ, Deis ignotis & peregrinis.

* *Hier. Com. 3. in Epist. ad Gal 348 Tom. 6.* Hebræus ex Hebræis profundos sensus aliena lingua exprimere non valebat.

Et Comm. 2. in Epist. ad Ephes. Tom 6. pag. 384. Ille qui Solæcismos in verbis facit, qui non potest hyperbaton reddere, sententiamque concludere, audacter sibi vindicat sapientiam, &c.

Com. in Epist. ad Tit. Tom 6. pag. 440. Qui non juxta humilitatem, ut plerique æstimant, sed verè dixerit, Imperitus Sermone, non tamen scientia, Hebræus ex Hebræis, &c. profundos sensus Græco sermone non explicat, & quid cogitat, in verba vix promit.

Epist. 15. ad Algas. Q. 10. Tom. 3. pag. 167. Illud, &c. etsi imperitus Sermone, &c. nequaquam Paulum de humilitate dixisse: profundos enim, & reconditos sensus lingua non explicat, & cum ipse sentiat, quid loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre Sermonem.

* *Id. Com. 1. Epist. ad Gal. Tom 6. pag. 303.* Unde manifestum est id fecisse Apostolum quod promisit, nec reconditis ad Gal. usum esse sensibus, sed quo idiotis, & vilibus, & quæ possent, nisi præmisset, Secundum hominem dico, prudentibus displicere.

Et paulo antè, pag. 304. Apostolus Galatis quoque, quos paulò ante stultos dixerat, factus est stultus: non enim ad eos his usus est argumentis, quibus ad Romanos, sed simplicioribus, & quæ stulti possent intelligere, & penè de trivio.

ans counterfeited ignorance, as knowing them to be a dull, heavy People; and that he had let fall some such Expressions, as might possibly have offended the more intelligent sort of people, had he not before hand told them, that he spoke after the manner of men. Whosoever shall have had but the least taste of the force and vigour, and of the Candor of the Spirit, and Discourse of this Holy Apostle, can never see him thus used, without being extremely astonished at it: especially if he but consider, that these kinds of speeches, although they had perhaps some Ground, (which yet they have not,) must needs scandalize, and give offence to the weaker sort of People, and therefore ought not to have been uttered, without very much Qualification, and sweetning of the business.

St. *Augustine*, I confess, is much more discreet in this particular, every where testifying (as there is very great Reason he should) the great Respect he bare to the Authors of the Books of the Holy Scriptures; and never speaking of any of them, whether it be of their Style, or of their Sense, but with a singular admiration.

But as for his own private Opinions, and those of other men which he embraceth, he is not without his Errours also. Such is that harsh Sentence of his, which he hath pronounced upon all Infants that dye before Baptism; whom he will have not only to be deprived of the *Vision of God*, which is the punishment that the ordinary Opinion of the Church condemns them to; but he will further have them to be † Tormented in Hell fire: wherein he is also followed by *Gregorius Arminienensis*, * a Famous Doctor in the *Schools*, where he is called, by reason of this Rigour of his, *Tormentum Infantium*. He maintaineth also, that the Eucharist is necessary for little Infants, as we have formerly noted, to another purpose. To which we must also add that other Opinion, to which he evidently inclines; namely, * that the *Soul* is derived from the Father to the Son, and is engendred of his

Substance,

† *Aug. T. 10.*

Serm. 14. de

verb. Ap.

* *Greg. Arim.*

in 7. sent. d. 33:

9. 3.

* *Aug. T. 2. Ep.*

28. *101. Mox P.*

21. *M T 3. de*

Gen. ad lit. lib.

10. c. 1. *T. 7. c.*

2. *de An. & e-*

jus Orig. c. 14.

Substance, as well as the *Body*, and is not immediately Created by God, which is the Common Opinion at this day.

† *Idem* Tom. 1. lib. 1. contr. Acad. cap. 7. See also toward the latter end of this Chapter.

* *Idem* Tom. 3. lib. imperf. de Gen. ad lit. cap. 7. & lib. 4. de Gen. ad lit. cap. 31, 33, 34. & lib. cap. 5. 11.

† *Idem* Tom. 5. Euch. ad Laur. cap. 109. Tempus quod inter hominis mortem & ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est animas abditis receptaculis continet, &c. Vide & Tom. 4. c. de cur. pro mortuis, cap. 2. & lib. 1. de Civitate Dei, cap. 12. Tom. 9. Tract. 49. in Joh. fol. 74.

There is no man but knows, that † He every where attributes to the Angels a *Corporeal Nature*: and also that he conceives, against all sense and reason, * that the whole World was created all in an instant of time; and refers the six days space of time, wherein the Creation is said to have been perfected, to the different degrees of the knowledge of the Angels. He believed also, with the most of the Ancient Fathers, † that the Souls of Men departed, are shut up into I know not what secret, dark Receptacles, where they are to remain from the hour of their departure, till the Resurrection.

But we need not trouble our selves any further, in proving that he also might erre in matters of Religion, seeing that himself hath made so clear and so Authentick a Confession hereof, in his Books of his *Retractions*, where he correcteth many things which he had formerly written, either besides, or against the Truth.

I must here confess also, that in my Opinion, it would have added very much to the great and high Esteem, which we generally have of his Parts and Worth; if he had been more positive, and more resolved, in the Decision of things, which he hath handled, for the most part, after the manner of the *Academicks*, doubtingly and waveringly all the way; insomuch that he leaveth undecided not only * whether the *Sun* and the other *Stars* be endued with *Reason*, but also, * whether the World it self be a *Living Creature*, or not.

He that will but exactly and carefully read the rest of the Fathers, may very easily observe in their Writings divers Errors of the like nature; and a man shall scarcely

meet

* *Id.* T. 3. Euch. ad Laur. c. 8. de Gen. ad lit. l. 2. c. 18.

† *Id.* lib. 1. Retract. cap. 11.

meet with any one Father, of any Note or Repute, from whom some such thing or other hath not escaped.

As for my own part, who have taken upon me this troublesome Business very unwillingly, I shall content my self with these few Instances already set down, seeing they do, in my Judgment, make this Business very clear; the discovery whereof, I have been necessitated to undertake, though I wish rather they might have been concealed. For, seeing that these so eminent Persons, who were of the greatest Repute amongst all the Ancients, have through Humane Infirmary fallen into such Errors, in Point of Faith; what ought we to expect from others, who come very much behind these, both in respect of their Antiquity, Learning, and Holiness of Life? Since *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, and *Epiphanius*, that is to say, the most Eminent, and most Approved Persons that ever were, have yet stumbled in many places, and have quite fallen in some other; what hath *Cyril*, *Leo*, *Gregorius Romanus*, and *Damascene* done, who have come after them, and in whom hath appeared both much less Gallantry of Spirit, and Sanctity, than in the Former? Besides, if these Men have been mistaken in matters of so great Importance; some of them, for Instance, in the Point touching the *Nature of God*; some, touching the *Humanity of our Saviour Christ*; others, touching the *Quality of our Soul*; and some, touching the *State and Condition* thereof after Death, and touching the *Resurrection*; why, for Gods sake, must they needs be Infallible, when they speak of the Points now debated amongst us? Why may not the same thing have hapned to them in the one, that hath so manifestly befallen them in the other? It is not very probable (as we have said before) that they so much as ever thought of our Differences: and it is much more improbable, that ever they had any intention of being our Judges in the Decisions of them, as we have before prayed.

But now put the Case that they were acquainted with the Business, and that they did intend to clear our Doubts, and to give us their Positive Determination touching the same in their Books; who shall assure us, that they have had better success here, than they had in so many other things, wherein we have before heard them give their Verdict, so utterly against all Justice and Reason? He that hath erred touching the Point of the *Resurrection*, is it not possible that he should be in an Error touching the *State of the Soul* after this Life? He that could be ignorant what the *Nature of Christ's Body* was, must he Necessarily have a Right Judgment touching the *Eucharist*? I do not see what solid Reason of this Difference can possibly be given. It cannot proceed, but from one of these two Causes, neither of which have yet any place here. For it happens sometimes, that he who is deceived in one Particular, hath yet better fortune in another; by reason perhaps of his taking more heed to, and using more Attention in the Consideration of the Later, than he did in the Former; or else, by reason that one of the Points is easier to be understood, than the other. For, in this Case, though his Attention be as great in the one, as in the other; yet notwithstanding he may perhaps be able to understand the easie one, but shall not be able to master the hard one. But now, neither of these Reasons can be alledged here: For, why should the Ancients have used less Care and Attention in the Examination of those Points wherein they have erred? Or, why should they have used more in those Points which are at this day controverted amongst us? Are not those Ancient Points of Religion of as great Importance, as these Latter? Is there less danger in being ignorant touching the *Nature of God*, than touching the *Authority of the Pope*? or touching the State of the Faithful in the *Resurrection*, than touching the Punishment of Souls in *Purgatory*? the Real *Qualities* of the *Body of Christ*, than the *Nature* of the *Eucharist*? the *Cup of His Passion*,
than

than the *Cap* of His *Communion*? Is it more Necessary to Salvation, to know Him *Sacrificed* upon the *Altar*, than Really *Suffering* upon the *Cross*? Who sees not, that these Matters are of equal Importance? or, if there be any Difference betwixt them, that those Points wherein the Fathers have erred, are in some sort more Important than those which we now dispute about?

We shall therefore conclude, That if they had had both the one and the other before their eyes, they would questionless have used as much Diligence at least, and Attention, in the Study of the one, as of the other; and consequently, in all probability, would have been either as successful, or else have erred as much in the one, as in the other.

Neither may it be here objected, That those Points wherein they have failed, are of more difficulty than those other wherein these Men will needs have them to have been Certainly in the Right: for whosoever shall but consider them more narrowly, he will find that they are equally both easie and difficult: or, if there be any difference betwixt them in this Particular, those which they have erred in, were the easier of the two to have been known.

For, I would fain have any Man tell me what he thinks in his Conscience, whether it be not as easie to judge by Reason, and by the Scripture, whether or no the Saints shall dwell upon the Earth after the *Resurrection*, as it is to determine, whether, after they are departed this Life, they shall go into *Purgatory*, or not? Is it a harder matter to know, whether the *Angels* are capable of *Carnal Love*; than it is to judge, whether the *Pope*, as he is *Pope*, be *Infallible*, or not? And if it be answered here, That the Church, having already determined these Latter Points, and having not declared it self at all touching the other, hath taken away all the Difficulty of the one, but hath left the other in their former Doubtful State: this is to presuppose that which is the main Questi-

on; or rather, it is manifestly False: the Church in the First Ages having not, that we know of, pass'd any Publick and Authentick Judgment, touching the Points now in controversie, as we have before already proved.

Forasmuch therefore as these Holy Men (if at least they had any thought at all of these our Quarrels) had an equally Clear Insight in these things; both according to all Reason, and all Probability, they would have also come unto them with an equal both Attention and Affection. And I believe that there is no Man but sees, that if they might erre in the Decision of the one, it is altogether as Possible that they might be mistaken also in their Judgment upon the other.

Now those Books of theirs, which are left us, proclaim aloud, and openly enough, (as we have seen by those few Testimonies which we have but just now produced out of them) that they have erred, and sometimes also very grievously, touching those First Questions: it remaineth therefore that we say, That their Judgment is not any whit more Infallible in our present Controversies. I could be content that you had demonstrated to any Protestant, by clear and undeniable Reasons, that S. Hilary, in those Passages which are produced out of him for the same purpose, hath Positively taught the *Real Presence* of *Christ* in the *Eucharist*; and I could be well contented that he should grant you the same; which yet perhaps he will never do. However, after all, he hath this still to put you in mind of, namely, that this is the self-same S. Hilary, who in the same Book maintains, That the Body of *Christ* felt no Pain at all upon the Cross. And if he were in an Error in this Particular, why must he Necessarily be in the Right in the other? The Question touching the *Body of Christ*, is of as great Importance as that of the *Eucharist*: and it is besides much more Clearly decided in the Scriptures, where there is nothing in the Earth that obligeth in the least degree to fancy any such

such thing of the Body of *Christ*, as *S. Hilary* hath done: but where, on the contrary, there seems to be some kind of Ground for the Opinion which he is pretended to have had, touching the *Eucharist*. Forasmuch therefore (will the *Protestant* say) as that in a thing which is of equal Importance, and of much less Difficulty, he hath manifestly erred, who can assure me, that in this Point here, which is both less Necessary, and more Difficult he may not also be mistaken? The same hath he to reply upon you, touching those other Allegations which you produce out of the rest of the Fathers; every one of whom hath either Really erred, or else Possibly might have erred in Matters of Religion. Neither can you hope, that any Solid Answer should be given to these things; especially if you but consider, that the Practice both of the Fathers, and also of our Adversaries themselves, hath clearly confirmed this our Position. For, * *S. Augustine*, in that Dispute of his which he maintained against *S. Hierome*, seeing him produce the Testimonies of Seven Authors, he (taking no notice at all of the words of the first four of them) answers no more but this, That some of them were guilty of Heresie, and the rest of Error: Which Answer is very Insufficient, unless you allow, that the Testimony of a Man who hath erred in any one particular Point of Faith, is Null and Invalid.

* *Aug. Ep. ad Hier. inter Ep. Hier. 47. T. 2. p. 551. & inter Epist. Aug. 19. T. 2.*

The Fathers of the II Council of *Nice* took the very same Course in answering an Objection brought against them by the *Iconoclasts*, who alledged a certain Passage for themselves out of *Ensebin* Bishop of *Cesarea*, answering them no more but this, That the Author they cited was an *Arian*. We need not examine whether this Answer of theirs be true, or no: and if so, whether it be to the purpose, or not: It is sufficient for us, that it appears hence, by their making use of this kind of Answer, that they took it for granted, that he that had failed in one Point, was not to be trusted in any other. Cardinal Perron, and the

Conc. VII. AD. 6. Tom 3. Conc. Gen. p. 627.

In Prefat præ-
fixa Añ. Conc.
Nicensi Gelas.
Cyzic. in Edit.
Rom Conc. Gen.
Tom. 1.

rest of the Learned of that Party, oftentimes makes use of the same Shift, rejecting the Testimonies that are brought against them out of *Socrates*, or *Sozomen*, two Ecclesiastical Historians, because they say they were *Novatians*. Those who put forth the General Councils at *Rome* disauthorize *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, who was the Compiler of the *Acts* of the Council of *Nice*, by producing many gross Oversight committed by him in that Piece of his.

Forasmuch therefore, as we are not to build upon the Authority of any Author that may justly be accused of Error; it is most evident, that the Authority of the greatest part, and indeed in a manner of all the Fathers, may very well be called in Question: seeing that you will hardly find any one of them that is not liable to this Exception.

But it will here be objected perhaps, by some especially, that although it be confessed, that the Opinion of one Single Father possibly may be, and many times is really false; yet however it is a very hard, or indeed an impossible thing, that what hath been delivered unanimously by many of them together, should be otherwise than True.

But we have answered something already to this Objection, where we took occasion to examine that *Maxime* of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, touching this Particular.

And in short, this is all one, as if having confessed that every particular Person of such a Company is sick of some Disease, we should notwithstanding still deny, that the whole Company, taken all together, can possibly fall into any Common Distemper of Body. It is not indeed altogether to probable, that Many should be sick of any Disease, as that One single Person should: yet neither is the thing altogether impossible, especially when the Disease is Contagious, and besides, not so well Known; as for the most part the Errors of Great Persons are, whose very Name bears them out, and makes them easily received

received by the Ordinary sort, who run after them, and suck them in without the least suspicion at all.

But yet if Reason will not do the turn, let Experience however persuade us to receive this Truth. For it is most evident, that some of those Errors before-specified, have been maintained, not by One, nor by Two, nor by Three of the Fathers onely; but by Many, by the Major part, and sometimes also by All the Fathers of the same Age, at least of all those whose Names and Writings have come to our hands. We have heard how that *Justin Martyr* maintained the Opinion of the *Millenaries*, which is both manifestly false in it self, and also very dangerous in its Consequences. Now this Opinion he did not maintain alone; the rest of the Learned of his time were in a manner all of the same Perswasion, as it appeareth by his own words.

For, writing against *Typhon*, and the *Jews* that held with him, he saith, *That if they had by chance met with some who bare the Name of Christians, but did not believe this Article of Faith, blaspheming the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and saying, That there shall be no Resurrection of the Dead; but that the Souls; immediately after Death, are transported up to Heaven; they must not take these Persons for Christians, no more than, in speaking truly and precisely, the Samaritans, or any other Sect of Judaism, ought to be called Jews.* The False Christians which he here speaks of, were the *Valentinians*, and others of the *Gnosticks*. He goes on by and by, and says,

But as for me, and the rest of us, who are Right and Orthodox in our Opinions, and who are perfectly Christians, we know, that there shall be both a Resurrection of the Flesh; and that the Saints shall afterwards also spend a thousand years in Jerusalem,

Just. contr. Typh. p. 306. 'Εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνελθόντες ὑμῶν τισὶ λυγροῖς χριστιανοῖς, καὶ τὸ τοῦ μὴ ὁμολογῶντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημῶντος τοῦ μὲν καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἰακώβ, οἱ καὶ λυγροὶ μὴ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλὰ αἷμα πῶς ἐποθύσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι μὴ ὑπομένειν αὐτοῖς χριστιανούς, &c.

Idibid. p. 307. 'Εγὼ δὲ, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐστίων θεοφιλῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ καὶ χριστιανοὶ, καὶ σαρκεὶς ἀνάστασιν γινώσκοντες ὁπίστανθα, καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ διμενέμενοι, καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη, &c.

whi. b

which shall be rebuilt, beautified, and enlarged. By which words of his he seems to testify, That all the Catholicks in his time maintained this Erroneous Opinion, and that the Hereticks onely rejected it. I know very well, that he confesseth before, *That there were divers who were Perfect and Religious Christians, who yet did not embrace the said Opinion:* But let any Man that can, reconcile these two contrary Sayings; *That all Orthodox Christians held this Opinion;* and, *That there were some of the Orthodox Party, that did not receive the same.*

Let any Man that will, search also into *Justin's Works*, and see whether this Contradiction hath not been foisted in by the Zeal of the following Ages, who haply might take offence at the Business, in seeing such an Opinion fathered upon all the True *Christians*, by so great a Martyr. It is sufficient for us, that however it appears clearly by this Passage, that a very great part of the Doctors, and of the Faithful People of those times, maintained this Error. We see that *Irenaeus*, who lived in the same time, and also *Tertullian*, who followed not long after him, were both of the same Perswasion; no one Man all this while, that we hear of, offering to contradict them.

^d *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.*
^{*} *Hieron. l. de Scrip. Eccles. in Papi.*

^d *Eusebius*, and ^{*} *S. Hierome*, and divers other Authors inform us, That *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who flourished about the Year of our Lord CX, was the Author of this Opinion.

It followeth then from hence, That the Consent of all the Fathers that are now extant, who lived in the same Age, and maintained all the same Opinion, is no infallible Argument of the Truth.

And if you go down Lower, you will find that the very same Error was defended by several Doctors of very great Repute in the Church.

S. Hierome, who in divers places of his Commentaries hath excellently and solidly refuted this foolish Fancy, says, *That many among the Learned Christians had maintained the same, and to those, whom we have already*

^e *Id. Comm. in Ezech. l. 4. n. 984.*

already mentioned † He addeth *Lactantius, Victorinus, Severus, and Apollinaris, who is followed in this Point,* (saith he in another place) *by great multitudes of Christians about us, insomuch that I already foresee and presage to my self, how many folks anger I shall incur hereby: namely, because he every where spoke against this Opinion.*

Whence it plainly appears, that in his time, that is to say, about the beginning of the Fifth Century, it was still in great request in the Church. And indeed how fierce soever he seem to be in his Onset, yet he dares not condemn this Opinion absolutely. * *Al-*

though we embrace not this Opinion, (saith he) *yet can we not condemn it; for as much as there have been divers Eminent Personages, and Martyrs in the Church, who have maintained the same. Let every man abound in his own sense, and let us leave the judgment of all things to God.*

Whence you see, (as we may observe by the way) that the Fathers have not always held an Opinion in the same degree that we do. For, St. Hierome conceived this to be a Pardonable Error, which yet we at this day will not endure to hear of.

If it be here answered, that the Church in the Ages following condemned this Opinion, as erroneous; this is no more, than to say, that the Churches in the Ages following acknowledged, that the joynt Consent of many Fathers together, touching one and the same Opinion, is no solid Proof of the Truth of the same. If *Dionysius Alexandrinus* had been of any other judgment, he would never have written against *Irenaeus* as he did; as † St. Hierome also testifieth, in one of his Books of Commentaries before cited. And if we are to have regard to Authority only, the Judgment of the succeeding Church cannot then serve us, as a certain Guide in this

† *Id. Com. 18. in Isa. in Praefat. Quem (Apollinarium) nostrorum in hac parte duntaxat plurima sequitur multitudo, ut praesaga mente jam cernam, quantum in me rabies concitanda sit.*

* *Hier. Com. 4. in Hierem. T. 4. p. 598. Quae licet non sequamur, tamen damnare non possumus, quia multi Ecclesiasticorum virorum, & Martyres ista dixerunt: & unusquisque in suo sensu abundet, & Domini cuncta iudicio reserventur.*

† *Id. Com. 18. in Es. in Praefat.*

Question, to inform us on which side the Truth is: For, to alledge it in this Case, were rather to oppose one Authority against another, than to decide the Controversie. As *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *St. Hierome*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others, conceived not themselves bound to submit to the Authority of *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Severus*, and others; so neither are we any more bound to submit to theirs: For, their Posterity oweth them no more Respect, than they themselves owed to their Ancestors. It seemeth rather, that in Reason they should owe them less; because that look how far distant in time they are from the Apostles, who are as it were the Spring and Original of all Ecclesiastical Authority; so much doth the Credit and Authority of the Doctors of the Church lose and grow less.

If *Antiquity* (as we would have it) be the *Mark of Truth*, then certainly that which is the most Ancient, is also the most Venerable, and the most Considerable. And if there were no other Argument but this, against the Authority of many Fathers, unanimously consenting in any Opinion; yet would it clearly serve to lessen the same: but there are yet behind many others; some whereof we shall here produce. We have heard before, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Augustine*, affirming all of them, that Heaven shall not be opened, till the Day of Judgment; and that during this space of time the Souls of all the Faithful are shut up in some subterraneous place, except some small number of those who had the Privilege of going immediately to Heaven. The Author of those *Questions and Answers*, that go under the name of *Justin Martyr*, maintains the same Opinion, as you may see in the *Answers* to the LX, and LXXIV *Questions*.

And that I may not unprofitably spend both Time and Paper, in bringing in all the particular Passages, I say in General, that both the *Major Part*, and also the most Eminent Persons among the Ancient Fathers held this Opinion,

Opinion, either absolutely, or at least in part. For, besides *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Augustine*, and the Author of those *Questions and Answers* we before mentioned, which is a very Ancient Piece indeed, though falsely fathered upon *Justin Martyr*, it is clear, that *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Aretas*, *Prudentius*, *Theophylact*, *St. Bernard*, and, among the Popes, *Clemens Romanus*, and *John XXII.* were all of this Opinion, as is confessed by all; neither was this so admirable and general Consent of theirs contradicted by any Declaration of the Church, for the space of Fourteen Hundred years; neither yet did any one of the Fathers so far as we can discover, take upon him to refute this Errour, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and *St. Hierome* did to refute the *Millenaries*; all the rest of the Fathers being either utterly silent, as to this Particular, and so by this their silence going over in a manner into the Opinion of the *Major Part*; or else contenting themselves with declaring sometimes here and there in their Books, that they believed that the Souls of the Saints should enjoy the sight of God, till the Resurrection; never formally denying the other Opinion.

But that which doth further shew, that this Opinion is both very Ancient, and hath been also very Common among the Christians, is, because that even at this day it is believed, and defended by the whole *Greek Church*: neither is there any of all those, who make Profession of standing to the Writings of the Fathers, as the Rule of their Faith, who have rejected it, save only the *Latines*, who have expressly also established the contrary, at the Council of *Florence*, held in the year of our Lord 1439. which is not above Two Hundred and Twelve years ago. Do but fancy now to

corporibus, vel eisdem exutæ corporibus, pro ut superius dictum est, sunt purgati, in cælum mox recipi, & intueri clarè ipsam Deum, trinum & unum, *Tom. 4.*

Conc. pag. 384.

Conc. Flor. in defin. Diffini-
mus insuper, &c. illorum
animas qui post susceptum
Baptisma nullam omnino
maculam incurrerunt illas
etiam quæ post contractam
peccati maculam vel in suis

your selves a *Vicentius Lirineus*, standing in the midst of this Council, and laying before them his own Oracle, before mentioned; which is, *That we ought to hold for most certainly, and undoubtedly true, whatsoever hath been delivered by the Ancients unanimously and by a Common Consent*: and do but think, whether or no he should not have been hissed out by these Reverend Fathers, as one that made the Truth, which is holy and immutable, to depend upon the Authority of Men? For, these men regarded not at all neither the Multitude, nor the Antiquity, nor the Learning, nor the Sanctity of the Authors of this foolish Opinion; but, finding it to be false, without any more ado rejected it, as they thought they had good Reason to do, and withal ordained the contrary.

Now I am verily perswaded, that there are very few Points of Faith, among all those which the Church of Rome would have the *Protestants* receive, for which there can be alledged either more, or more clear and evident Testimonies out of the Fathers, than for this.

For as much therefore as that after all this it hath not only be called in Question, but hath been even utterly condemned also; who seeth not, that the Consent of many Fathers together, although any such thing were to be had, upon all the Points now in Debate, would yet be no sufficient Argument of the Truth of the same? But I shall pass on to the rest.

We have before heard, how that *Tertullian*, *St. Cyprian*, who was both a Bishop and a Martyr, *Firmilianus* Metropolitan of *Cappadocia*, *Dionysius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, together with the Synods of Bishops both of *Africk*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Bithynia*, held all, that the Baptism of Hereticks was invalid and null. *St. Basil* who was one of the most Eminent Bishops of the whole Eastern Church, held also in a manner the very same Opinion; and that a long time too after the Determination of the Council of *Nice*; as appeareth by the Epistle which he wrote

*Basil. Epist. ad
Amphiloch. T. 2.
p. 758, 759.*

wrote to *Amphilochius*; which is also put in among the *Publick Decrees of the Church*, by the *Greek Canonists*. And yet this Opinion is now confessed by all to be *Erroneous*.

Many in like manner of the Fathers, as namely † *Tertullian*, * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, † *Lactantius*, and * *Africanus*, believed, that our Saviour Christ kept the Feast of the Passover but once only, after his Baptism. And yet notwithstanding this Consent of theirs, the Opinion is known to be very false, as † *Petavius* also testifieth; and besides is expressly contrary to the Text of the Gospel. I shall not here say any thing of the Opinion of ^a *St. Chrysostome*, ^b *St. Hierome*, ^c *St. Basil*, and the Fathers of the Council held at ^d *Constantinople* under the Patriarch *Flavianus*; who seem all to have held, that an Oath was utterly unlawful for Christians, under the *New Testament*. Neither shall I take any notice in this place of that Conceit of *Atanasius*, *St. Basil*, and *Methodius*, as he is cited by ^e *John Bishop of Thessalonica*, who all believed that the *Angels* had *Bodies*: to whom we may also add, (as we have shewed before,) *St. Hilary*, *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and very many more of the Fathers, who would all of them have the Nature of *Angels* to be such, as was capable of the Passions of *Carnal love*; of which number is even ^f *St. Augustine* also. Whosoever should now conclude from hence, that this Fancy of theirs (which yet is of no small importance) is a Truth; would he not be as sharply reprov'd for it by the *Romanists*, as by those of *Geneva*? But I must not forget, that besides *St. Cyprian*, *St. Augustine*,

† *Tertul. lib. contr. Jud. cap. 8.*

* *Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 6.*

† *Lactant Firmian. lib. 4. cap. 10.*

* *African. apud Hieron. Com. in Dan. cap. 10. Tom. 4. cap. 1147.*

† *Petav. Not. in Epib. pag. 203.*

^a *Chrysostom. Hom. in statuas, & passim.*

^b *St. Hieron. Com. 1. in Matth. Tm. 6. pag. 15.*

^c *Basil. Hom. in Ps. 14. T. 1. pag. 154, & 155.*

^d *Ath. Conc. Const. act. 1. Tom. 2. pag. 129. Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος χειρὶ, μὴ ὁμῶσαι, &c.*

^e *Tom. 3. Conc. pag. 547. in Ath. Conc. VII. act. 5.*

^f *August. Tom. 1. lib. 1. contr. Acad. cap. 7. Tom. 2. Epist. 111. & Epist. 115. & Tom. 3. Enchir. ad Laur. cap. 59. de Trin. lib. 2. cap. 7. & lib. 3. cap. 1. & lib. 8. cap. 2. & de Gen. ad lit. lib. 3. cap. 10. & lib. 11. cap. 22. & de divin. Dam. cap. 3, 4, 5. & Tom. 4. lib. 93. quest. 947. Tom. 5. lib. 11. de Civ. Dei. cap. 25. & lib. 19. cap. 23. & ibi Vives, & lib. 21. cap. 23. & cap. 10.*

and

^g *Supr. lib. 1.
cap. 8.*

^h *Maldon. in
Job. 6. 53.*

ⁱ *Cassand. Con-
sult. ad Fer.
Max. p. 936 &
lib. de Bapt.
Inf. p. 747.*

^k *Du Perr.
traict. de St.
August. pag.
1001.*

^l *Nicol. de Lyra in Job. No-
randum quod ex hoc quod
dicitur hic, Nisi manduca-
veritis, &c. dicunt Græci,
quod hoc Sacramentum est
tantæ necessitatis, quod pue-
ris debet dari, sicut Baptis-
mus.*

^m *Hierem. Patr. Const. Doctr.
Exb. ad Germ.*

ⁿ *Alvarez. in
his Voyage to
Ethiopia.*

and Pope *Innocent I.* whose Testimonies we have given in
before, all the rest of the Doctors, in a manner, of the
first Ages maintained, that the *Eucharist* was necessary for
young *Infants*; if at least you dare take *Maldonat's* word,
who affirms, that this Opinion was in great Request in
the Church, during the first Six Hundred years after our
Saviour Christ.

ⁱ *Cassander* also testifieth, that he hath often observed
this Practice in the Ancients; as indeed is also witnessed
by *Carolus Magnus*, and by *Ludovicus Pius*, who lived a
long time after the Sixth Century; both of which assure
us, that this Custom continued in the West, even in their
time, as they are cited by Cardinal ^k *Perron*: and the
Traces of this Custom do yet remain to this day, amongst
those Christians who are not of the Communion of the

Latine Church. For ^l *Nicolaus Lyranus*, who
lived somewhat above three hundred years
since, observed, That the Greeks accounted
the Holy Eucharist so necessary, as that they
administred it to little Children also, as well as
Baptism. And even in our Fathers time, the
Patriarch ^m *Jeremias*, speaking in the name
of the whole Greek Church, said, We do not
only Baptize little Children, but we also make
them partakers of the Lords Supper. And a little after:
we account (saith he) both Sacraments to be necessary to Sal-
vation for all persons; namely, Baptism and the Holy Com-
munion. The ⁿ *Abyssines* also make their Children in like
manner Communicate of the Holy Eucharist, as soon as
ever they are Baptized.

Which are most evident Arguments, that this false Op-
inion, touching the Necessity of the Eucharist, hath been of
old maintained, not by three or four of the Fathers only,
but by the Major part, and in a manner by all of
them.

For we do not hear of so much as one, among all the
Ancient Fathers, who rejected it in express Terms; as the
Council

Council of *Trent* hath done, in these later Times.

To conclude, the Jesuit ° *Pererius* hath informed us, ° *Perer. in*
(and indeed the observation is obvious enough to any *Rom c. 8. disp.*
man, that is never so little conversant in the Writings of *22. Epist. 23.*
those Authors, who lived before St. *Augustines* time) that
all the *Greek* Fathers, and a considerable part also of the
Latines, were of Opinion, that the Cause of *Predestination*
was, the *Fore-sight* which God had, either of Mens *Good*
Works, or else of their *Faith*: either of which Opinions,
he assures us, is manifestly contrary both to the Authority
of the Scriptures, and also to the Doctrine of St. *Paul*. So
that I conceive we may, without troubling our selves any
further in making this envious Inquiry into the Errours
of the Fathers, conclude from what hath been already
produced, that seeing the Fathers have Erred in so many
Particulars, not on singly, but also many of them together;
Neither the private Opinion of each particular Father,
nor yet the unanimous Consent of the *Major* part of them,
is a sufficient Argument certainly to prove the Truth of
those Points, which are at this day controverted amongst
Us.

CHAP.



C H A P. V.

Reason V. *That the Fathers have strongly contradicted one another, and have maintained Different Opinions, in Matters of very Great Importance.*

Bessar. Orat.
de controversiis,
 c. 2. p. 520, &
 521. T. 4. Conc.

Bessarion, a Greek born, who was honoured with the Dignity of *Cardinal*, by Pope *Eugenius IV.* as a Reward of his earnest desires to, and the great pains he took in endeavouring a Reconciliation betwixt the Eastern and the Western Church, in a Book which he wrote upon this Subject to the Council of *Florence*, will have the whole Difference, betwixt the Greek and Latine Churches, to be brought before the Judgment Seat of the Fathers.

And for as much as he knew, that unless the Judges did all agree, and were of one Opinion, the *Cause* (especially in Matters of Religion,) necessarily remains undecided; he strongly labours to prove, that he hath all the Fathers consenting not only with him, but, (which is yet much harder to prove) that they are all of the same Opinion also among themselves; inasmuch that he commands us, when ever there appeareth any contrariety in their Writings, that we should accuse our own ignorance, rather than blame them for contradicting each other.

We may conclude therefore, from what is here laid down by this Author, who was both as acute, and as Learned a man, as any was at this Council, that to render the Fathers capable of being the Judges of our Controversies, it is necessary that they should be all of the same Judgment and Opinion, in Point of Religion.

And certainly, this is a most clear Truth: For, if there be any Contradiction amongst them, or Dissenting in Opinion, they will leave our Controversies more Perplexed, rather than Decided; and in stead of Uniting, will rather Distract us, and rend us into many Parts.

That we may therefore be able to come to the knowledge of the Truth in this Particular, it will concern us first of all to examine, whether that which *Bessarion* addeth hereupon, be true also, or not; namely, That the Opinions of the Fathers do never clash one with the other, touching the Points of our Religion.

Now although this were so, yet would it not Necessarily follow from hence, that their Judgment must needs be therefore *Infallible*; forasmuch as even an Error may, either by the Consent of the several Parties, or by Accident, or else by some other the like means, happen to meet with an Unanimous Entertainment by several Persons.

But now in case this should prove to be false, then certainly we may make this *Infallible Conclusion*, That we ought to seek out for other Judges of our Controversies, than the Writings of the Fathers. We shall therefore shew, by way of addition to the rest of our Proofs, that this Assertion of his is more Bold than True; and, that there are very many Real Differences to be found among the Ancient Fathers, in Matters of Religion.

We have already touched before upon some of them, by the bye onely, as lying in our way, speaking of other Matters; and therefore we shall onely lightly run them over again; as namely, first of all, That Disagreement in Opinion of the most Ancient among the Fathers, *Justine Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, and *Tertullian*, on the one side; and *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and *S. Hierome* on the other: the First of these promising us very seriously the Delights and Pleasures of a Thousand years, and the *Diamonds* and the *Saphires* of a New Earthly *Jerusalem*, with all its Glory and Prosperity:

but the other very coarsely, and in downright Terms reproving this their Conceit, as being an idle Fancy, fit to be entertained by Little Children, and Old Women only; and which seems to have been derived rather from the Dreams of the *Jews*, than from the Doctrine of the *Apostles*.

The like to this was that Difference betwixt the Bishops of *Asia*, and Pope *Victor*, about the Observation of *Easter-day*; and of *Cyprian*, and *Stephen*, about the *Baptism of Hereticks*: in all which Differences, the Heat was so high, as that it went on as far as to Excommunicating each other. If *Bessarion* now could but make it appear to us, that these were not *Real*, but *Seeming* Contradictions onely, I should then make no question at all, but that he would as easily reconcile *Fire* and *Water*, or whatever things else in Nature are the most Contrary the one to the other.

We have heard that *Tertullian* maintained, That the *Soul* was *Ex Traduce*, and was propagated from the Father to the Son, by the Natural Course of Generation; and that *S. Augustine* likewise enclined to the same Opinion: to whom, if we will believe ^a *S. Hierome*,

^a *Hieron. Ep. 82. T. 2.* An certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius & maxima pars Occidentalium autumant.

^b *Id. Com. in Eccles. c. 12. T. 5.*
 & *Ep. 61. ad Pamm. T. 2. p. 242.*
 & *alibi passim.*

we must add a very considerable number of the Western Church also, who were all of the same Perswasion. But ^b *S. Hierome* rejects them all, and their Opinion, and says, That the *Soul* is created Immediately by God, at the very instant that it is united to the Body; adding

withal, (as we have formerly noted unto you) That this is the Belief of the Church in this Point.

S. Hierome, and those of his Faction held, That all that Reprehension used by *S. Paul* to *S. Peter*, which we find mentioned in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, was onely a Feigned Business, purposely Acted betwixt the two Apostles, by an Agreement made betwixt themselves. *S. Augustine*, with those of his Side, maintains the

the contrary, and says, That the thing was Real, and was meant heartily and seriously, and as it is related by *S. Paul*; and that there was no Cunning, or Under-hand Dealing in the Business, or any *Scene* laid betwixt *S. Peter* and him. And *S. Hierome* pursued this Dispute with so much heat and earnestness, as that besides those Epistles of his, which are full of Gall and Choler, written against *S. Augustine*, touching this Particular, he yet in his *Commentaries* also, which were Pieces that he wrote in his Quieter Temper, many times takes occasion to gird underhand at *S. Augustine*, upon this old Quarrel betwixt them. So that certainly he must needs be quite out of his Wits, whoever shall seriously go about to maintain, that these two Fathers were perfectly of One Opinion, and agreed upon this Point. ^d *Justine Martyr* is of Opinion, that it was the Real Ghost of *Samuel*, that appeared to *Saul*, being raised up by the Enchantments of the Witch at *Endor*.

^c *Vid. Com. 4. in Es. T. 4. p. 378. & Com. 18. in eund. p. 485.*

^d *Justin. contr. Tryph. p. 333. Τῶν Σαμὴλ καὶ Φυλῶ καλεθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἐξῆρας αὐτῶν.*

^d Justin. contr. Tryph. p. 323. Τὴν
Σαμὴν ἢ Ψυχὴν καλεῖσθαι καὶ
τὴν ἐστὶν αἰσθητικὴν.

c Others say it was but a *Fantasm*. f Some of them hold, That the meeting together of the Faithful at the *Eucharist* thrice a week, is an Apostolical Tradition. g Others believe the contrary. h Some enjoyn us to *Fast* on *Saturdays*; i others forbid the same, under the penalty of being accounted no less than the Murtherers of *Christ*. k Some of them conceive, that our Saviour *Christ* suffered Death in the *Fortieth* or *Fiftieth* year of his Age: l Others again would perswade us, that he died in the *Tbirtieth* or *Thirty first* year of his Age: Both which Opinions are manifestly contrary to the Text of the Gospel, which tells us clearly, That after his Baptism, that

ε Pseudo. Just. l. 2. C. R. Resp.
ad q. 52. Τὸ θεῖον τὸ δακνόν
τὸ δαίμονι, ἐν τῷ χήματι τοῦ
Σαμουὴλ ὀφθῆναι τῇ ἐξασει-
μύθῳ.

Epiph. in Panar. Expos. Fid. p.
1104.

1 August. in Ep. 118. ad Jan. T. 3.
vid. Petav. in Epiph p. 354.

*Vide Petav. p. 349. in Epiph,
Eccl. Rom. ap. Sacr. l. 5. c. 22.
August. Ep. 86. & 118. Innoc. I.
Ep. 1. c. 4.*

¹ Ignat. Ep. 4. ad Philip. Can. Apost. c. 68. Constit. Apost. l. 7. c. 24 Syn. Trull. Can. 55.

¹ Tertul. Clem. Alex. Laſtant. A-
fric. ubi ſupr.

Concil. Gen. p.
658, 659.

allow of these Terms, *Cause*, and *Effect*, in the Doctrine of the Trinity; but some others again do not so.

Some of them are of Opinion, That there is a certain Order, or Distinction of Priority, in the Persons of the Trinity; others again there are, who will not endure to hear of this Expression.

Those of the Western Church call the *Son* only, *The Image of the Father*; but the Greek Church maketh this Name extend to the *Holy Ghost* also. S. Basil will not allow of the word *υἱονα*, in discoursing of the *Son*: Others again make use of it, without any scruple at all.

I doubt very much, whether Bessarion had ever seen the *Apologies* and *Invectives* of S. Hierome, and of Rufinus; who were yet both of them Fathers, and of good Repute too in the Church, both that of their own time, and of the Ages following; although they were not both of them of equal Esteem. Neither do I believe he remembered that Quarrel that there was betwixt Theophilus and Epiphanius on the one part, and S. Chrysostome on the other.

For certainly, their Carriage toward each other in this their Debate, doth not shew them to have been so very good Friends, and so well agreed upon the Point debated. But now, to overthrow this Bold Assertion of his at once, we need go no further than to the very Point it self, touching which he proposed it. For, whom will he ever be able to perswade, that All the Fathers have written and said the very same things, touching the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*? It is evident, that sometimes they will have It to Proceed from the *Son* also; as S. Basil by name hath expressed himself, in that Passage of his, which is alledged by the *Latins* out of his Book against *Ennomius*; (which Piece yet the *Greeks* say is forged :) and as the

Cong. Flor. A. 2.

20. J. 4. Cong. p.

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Fathers of the Western Church have most expressly declared themselves in many places. But yet I cannot possibly see; how we can say, That they have All been of this Opinion.

I shall not here meddle with those other Authorities, produced by the Greeks out of the Fathers; which their Adversaries put by as well as they can, oftentimes most miserably wresting and stretching upon the Rack the Words and Meaning of the Fathers. But that Passage of *Theodoret*, in his Refutation of *S. Cyril's Anathema's*, is so clear and express, as that nothing can be more.

ⁿ *S. Cyril* had said, in his IX *Anathema*, That the Holy Ghost proceeded Properly from the Son. ^o *Theodoret* answereth, That it is both Impious and Blasphemous to say, that the Holy Ghost hath its Subsistence from the Son, or by the Son. ^p If he mean (saith he) that the Holy Ghost proceedeth properly from the Son, as being of the same Nature with It, and as proceeding from the Father; we shall willingly agree with him, and shall

Cyrl. Anath. 9. "Ιδον αὐτῶ (χρῆσθ) τὸ πνεῦμα.

Theodor. Refut. Anath. 9 Cyril: Ath. Conc. Eph. "Ιδον ὃ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἡμῶν, ὃ αὐτὸ ὡς ὁμοφυές, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύμενον ἔστι, συνημολογήσασθαι, καὶ ὡς εὐσεβῆ δεχόμεθα τὸ πνεῦμα. εἰ δ' αἶς ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἢ δ' ἡμῶν παραχρῆν ἔχον. ὡς βλάσφημον. αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς δυσσεβὲς ἀπορρίπτωμεν.

receive his Doctrine as Sound and Pious: But if he mean, that the Holy Ghost hath its Subsistence from the Son, or by the Son, we must then reject it, as Impious, and Blasphemous. He could not have thrown by this Proposition of *S. Cyril* more bluntly, or in courser Terms: And yet for all this so flat giving him the Lie, as it were, and his so insolent rejecting of an Opinion that was then received by the Church, as the *Latins* pretend,

^p *S. Cyril* replies no more but this, That the Holy Ghost, although It proceed from the Father, yet nevertheless is not a Stranger to the Son, since He hath all things common with the Father. Why did he not cry out against him as an Heretick, as he many times elsewhere doth, with much less reason; if at least you must needs have it granted you, that the Opinion of the Church at that time was, That the H. Ghost proceeded from the Son? Why did he not take it very ill

^p *Cyrl. Resp. ad Ref. Theod. Anath. 9. ibid. "Εκπορεύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πατρὶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀλλοτείου ἐκ τοῦ ἡμῶν: πάντα γὰρ ἔχουμεν τὸ πατρὶς.*

at his hands, that he should in so insolent a manner reject as Impious and Blasphemous, a Proposition that was so Holy, and so True? Why did he not call the Whole Church in, to be his Warrant for what he had said, if so be it had Really been the General Belief of the Church at that time? And how comes it to pass, that in stead of all this, he rather returns so tame an Answer, as seems rather to betray his own Cause, and something also to encline to the contrary Opinion of his Adversary? For, it is evident, that neither *Theoderet*, nor yet any of the *Modern Greeks* ever held, That the *Holy Ghost* was a *Stranger* to, or was *Unconcerned* in the *Son*, seeing they all confesse, That these three, to wit, the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, are One and the same God, who is Blessed for ever.

Whosoever shall but diligently consider these things, (for we cannot stand any longer upon the Examination of them) he cannot, in my Judgment, but confesse that the Church had not as yet declared it self, or determined any thing touching this Point; and, that these *Doctors* spake herein each Man his own Private Opinion only, and according as the Present Occasion of Disputation led him to speak; where you shall have them contradicting one another, in like manner as is usual in speaking of things not as yet thoroughly examined, or expressly determined: in so much that it would grieve a Man to see how the *Greeks* and the *Latins* toil and sweat to no purpose, each of them labouring to bring over the *Fathers* to speak to their Side, and fearfully wresting their Words, whensoever they seem to be but never so little ambiguous; and ever and anon accusing one another of having corrupted the *Ancients* Writings, whensoever they are found to speak expressly against them: and when all is done, leaving those who either read or hear them without any Prejudice, very much unsatisfied; whereas it had been much more easie, to have honestly confessed at first, that which is but too apparent, that the *Fathers*, as in this, so

in many other Points of Religion, have not all been of one and the same Perswasion.

And whereas ¹ *Bessarion*, that he may elude this Testimony of *Theodore*, affirms, That he was cast forth of the Church for having denied that the *Holy Ghost* proceeded from the *Son*; and that he afterwards publicly confessed his Error, at the Council of *Chalcedon*, where he was received into the Church again: all this, I say, is only a Piece of *Grecian Confidence*, which shews more clearly than all the rest, how much this Man was carried away with his Passion, and the violence of his Affection to the *Latin Church*.

1 Bessar. in Orat. Dogmat. five de Unione Extra. cap. 9. in 22. Conc. Flor. Sess. 28. T. 4. Conc. p. 551.

For, I beseech you, in what Ancient Author had he ever read, that *Theodore* was, I do not say, Condemned, or Excommunicated, but so much as Reproved, or Accused onely, for having maintained any Erroneous Opinion touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*? We have the *Acts* of the Council of *Ephesus*, where he was Excommunicated: We have the Letters of *S. Cyril*, wherein he again received into the Communion of the Church *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and all his Followers, of which number *Theodore* was the Chief. We have the Council of *Chalcedon*, where *Theodore*, after some certain Cryings out of his Adversaries against him, was at length received by the whole Assembly as a Catholick Bishop, and was admitted to sit amongst them. In which of all these Authentick Pieces is there so much as one word spoken, touching this Opinion of his, concerning the Point of the *Proceeding* of the *Holy Ghost*? *S. Cyril* himself, that is to say, those of his Party, did not at all condemn what he said, touching this Particular; but he rather contented himself in excusing, or, if you please, in defending onely his own Opinion. The Business for which *Theodore* was questioned in the Councils of *Ephesus*, and of *Chalcedon*, had nothing in the World to do with this, touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*: for, the Question was onely there, touching the *Two Na-*

tures of our Saviour *Christ*, whom *Nestorius* would needs divide into *Two Persons*; *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, *Theodoret*, and divers other Eastern Bishops, favouring in some sort his Person, or being indeed offended rather at the Proceeding of the Council of *Ephesus* against him; and withal rejecting several things that were contained in the *Anathemas* of *S. Cyril*.

Now with what face could this Man tell us, after all this, That *Theodoret* had been deposed from his Bishoprick, for having maintained an Erroneous Opinion touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*? But enough of this.

I would in the next place, say know, how this *Reconciler of Differences* could compose that Debate betwixt the DCXXX Fathers of the Council at *Chalcedon*, and *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*; and how he can reconcile the XXVIII Canon of the one, with those many Epistles written by the other, touching this Point, to *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Emperour *Marcianus*, and his Emperess, to the Prelates who were there met together in that Council, and to the Patriarch of *Antioch*: the Fathers of this Council advancing the Throne of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, above those of *Alexandria*, and of *Antioch*, and making it equal even with that of *Rome* it self: Pope *Leo* in the mean time sending out his Thunderbolts against this Decree of theirs, and charging them as guilty of a most insufferable Injury offered him. And when this our *Conciliator* shall have done his business at *Chalcedon*, if he please, he may pass over into *Africk*, and there also Reconcile the Fathers of that Country to the Bishops of *Rome*; the former of these forbidding their Clergy to make any *Appeals* to *Rome*; and the other in the mean time to their utmost endeavouring to prove, That it is their Proper Right, to have such *Appeals* brought before them. And when he hath finished this Work, our *Greek* may then in the next place try to remove all misunderstanding betwixt the Fathers of the Council

Council of *Frankfort*, and those of the *late Council of Nice*, touching the Point of the use of Images, the Character of these Ordaining, *That we ought to pay unto them Salutations, and Adoration of Honour*, and that we ought to honour them with Incense and Light, and other, as every man knows, having not only rejected this Greek Council, but having written also expressly against it, by the Command of the Emperour *Carolus Magnus*.

Certainly he that shall but read the Fathers themselves, will easily and quickly perceive, that they clash and contradict each other, in most plain and irreconcilable Terms; and that there is no other way of bringing them honestly together, but by receiving every one of them, with his own private Opinions; imitating herein the marvellous Wisdom of the Council of *Constantinople in Trulla*; which receiveth and alloweth of all in gross, without distinction: both the *Canons of the Apostles*, and the whole Code of the *Church Universal*, together with those of *Sardica*, *Carthage*, and *Laodicea*: amongst which notwithstanding there are found strong Contradictions.

As for Example, the Council of *Sardica* will have the Right of receiving the Appeals of all Bishops to belong to the See of *Rome*; whereas *Chalcedon* gives this Priviledge to that of *Constantinople*. The Council of *Laodicea* leaveth out of the Canon of the Scriptures, the *Maccabees*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the Book of *Wisdom*, *Tobit*, and *Judith*: that of *Carthage*, puts them in expressly. But now these honest Fathers of *Constantinople*, to the end they may give content to all the World, take no notice at all of these their Differences; but receive each of them, with their own particular Canons, and Opinions; without obliging them to any one Common Rule; doing this, I believe, upon condition, that themselves may not be required, by those whom they thus admit, to receive any more from them, than they shall think convenient.

know no man, that would not at this rate readily admit of, as *Common*, all the Writings of the Fathers; provided that he might but have liberty to take, or leave therein what he thought good.

So that we may very well from henceforth rest satisfied, that notwithstanding *Bessaron's* resolution to the contrary, the Fathers have not always been of the same Judgment in matters of Religion: and that consequently they ought not to be received by us, as our Judges touching the same.

For, seeing that I find them contradicting each other, in so many several Points of very great importance; how shall I be assured, that they are all unanimously agreed, touching those Points which are now debated amongst us?

Why may they not have had the same diversity of Opinion, touching the Point of the *Eucharist*, the *Authority of the Church*, the *Power of the Pope*, *Free-will*, or *Purgatory*; that they had in those other Points which we have before presented to the Readers view; which were of as great importance as these, and no less easie to be determined; as we have proved in the Chapter preceding?

Epiphanius and *St. Hierome* are as opposite in their Judgments, touching the Ancient Condition of *Priests* and *Bishops*, as *Theodore* and *St. Cyril* are, touching the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*. Neither are some Opinions of *Tertullian*; and of *Damasene*; *Theodore*; and of *Eusebius Emisenus*; of *Eusebius Casareensis*, and of the *VII. Council*, touching the Point of the *Eucharist*, less opposite to each other; than are those of *Cyprian* and of *Stephen*; touching the *Baptism of Hereticks*: and so likewise in many other particulars.

Why then should we take so much pains, and trouble ourselves so to no purpose, in reconciling these men, and making them speak all the same thing?

Why

Why should we so cruelly, and so unskillfully treat them as we do; to make them all of one Opinion; and to say the same things, whether they will or no; and, sometimes too against our own Conscience; but, certainly, for the most part, without any satisfaction to the Reader?

Why should we not rather honestly confess, that their Opinions were all so different, as well as their words?

We make no scruple at all to confess, that they have been of contrary Opinions, touching those other Points of Religion, which are not at all now controverted amongst us: How much greater harm, for Gods sake, would it be, if we should confess, that they have not any better agreed among themselves, touching these Points now in debate?

But we shall not need to press this matter any further: it is sufficient for us that we have proved, that they were of different Opinions in Point of Religion: so that it clearly follows from hence, that we ought not to admit of their Writings, as the proper Judges of our Controversies.

We have formerly touched, though very lightly only, upon their Diversity of Opinion, and Contrariety, in their Explications upon the Scriptures; which yet is a business of no very small consideration.

For if we take them for our Judges, we shall necessarily have occasion every minute of having recourse to them, touching the sense of those Passages of Scripture, about which we disagree among our selves: If now there be as great Contrarieties, and Difference in Judgment touching these things among them, as there is amongst our selves, what have we then left us to trust to? This Passage for Example, in the Gospel according to St. John, *And my Father are one*, is of very great importance, in the Disputes against both *Sabellian* and *Arian*.

Would you now know the true sense and meaning of these words, lest otherwise by misinterpreting the same,

*Joh. 10. 30.
Ego & Pater
unum sumus.*

you might chance to fall into the one, for the other of these two Precipites? If you have recourse to the Fathers

† Tertul. contr. Prax. c. 22.
Utrum non pertinet ad similitudinem, sed ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad delectionem Patris, qui Filium diligit, & ad obsequium Filii, qui Voluntati Patris obsequatur.

Autor libri de Trin. cap. 22.
Orig. contr. Celsam, lib. 8. p. 293

† Athanas. Greg. Nazianz. alij pene omnes passim.

† Joh. 14. 28.

† Epiphani. Ancor. p. 23.

† Joh. 1. 14.

† Ambros. l. de Isaac. Sacri. c. 2.

C. T. 2 p. 183.

Athanas. Ep. ad Episc. T. 1. p. 587.

† 2 Cor. 5. 21.

† Gal. 3. 13.

† Cyrill. Apol. Athanas. I. T. 1.

Conc. Gener. p. 515.

in this case, you shall have † some of them referring it to the Union of the Affection, and of the Will, and † others again, to the Unity of Essence and of Nature. *modi vni*

So likewise this other passage in the same Evangelist † *My Father is greater than I*, is very considerable also, in the Question touching the Divinity of Jesus Christ: And yet

there are † some among the Fathers, who understand the words as spoken indefinitely of the Son of God, although the rest of them do ordinarily restrain them to his Humanity.

These words also of St. John, *The Word was made Flesh*, are of no small consideration in the Disputes against Nestorius and Eutyches. Now if you bring the business before the Fathers, you shall have † some of them expounding these words, by comparing them with those passages in St. Paul,

where it is said that *Christ was made sin*,

and a *Curse for us*: but † St. Cyril saith,

that we must take heed how we interpret the words

It would be an endless Task, if I should here go about to reckon up all the Differences, and Contrarieties of Judgment, that are to be found in the Fathers.

Those that have a mind to see any more of them, may have recourse to some of our late Commentators, whose usual course is to bring in all together the several Interpretations of the Fathers, upon those Books which they

Comment upon: as Maldonate hath done upon the Gospels, Cardinal Tolet upon St. John, Bened. Justinianus upon the Epistles of St. Paul, and others: where they will find that there is scarcely any one Verse, that the Ancients have understood all of them after one and the

same manner. And which is yet worse than this, besides this Contrariety and Difference of Interpretation, you will often meet with very many cold and empty Expositions; and it is very seldom that you shall find there that solid simplicity which we ought to expect from all those, who take upon them the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

For as much therefore as we many times meet with Contrariety of Judgment, as well in their Expositions of the Scriptures, as in their Opinions; we may safely conclude, that they are not of sufficient Authority to be admitted as the Supreme Judges of our Controversies; that Contradiction, which is often found amongst them, evidently shewing, that they are not *Infallible Judges*. Such as it is requisite that they should be, for the making good of all those Points, which are at this day maintained by the Church of Rome against the Protestants.

CHAP.

The

Reason VI. That neither those of the Church of Rome, nor the Protestants do acknowledge the Fathers for their Judges in Points of Religion, but do both of them reject such of their Opinions, and Practices, as are not for their Gust. An Answer to two Objections, that may be made against what hath been here delivered in this Discourse.

THUS far have we laboured to prove, that the Writings of the Fathers have not Authority enough in themselves, for to be received as *Definitive Sentences* passed upon our Differences in Religion.

Let us now in the last place see, how much they have in respect of us. For although a Sentence of Judgment should be good, and valid in it self, as being pronounced by one who is a competent and lawful Judge, duly and according to the Forms of Law; yet notwithstanding would not this serve to determine the Controversie, if so be the Authority of this Judge be denied by either of the Parties, (unless, as it is in worldly Affairs, the Law be armed with such a Power, as is able to force those that are obliuate to submit to Reason:) for as much as the Question is here touching Religion, which is a Holy and Divine thing, to the embracing whereof men ought to be perswaded, and not compelled, since force hath no place here. For although perhaps they could compel men outwardly to render some such respect to the Writings of the Fathers, yet notwithstanding would not this serve to make any impression of the Belief of the same, in the heart of any one.

The

The same Divisions would still remain in the minds of men, which you are first of all to pull up by the roots, if every you intend to reconcile them to each other, and to make them agree in Point of Religion.

For the certain determination therefore of all Differences of this nature, it is necessary that both Parties be perswaded, that the Judge, who is to pronounce Sentence upon the same, hath as much Authority as is requisite for that purpose. Notwithstanding therefore that the Fathers should have clearly and positively pronounced what they had thought, touching the Point in hand, which yet they have not done, as we have proved before: Let us suppose further, that they had been endued with all those qualities, which are requisite for the rendring a man fit to be a *Supreme Judge*, and from whom there can be no Appeal, which yet is not so, as we have already clearly proved: yet notwithstanding would all this be to no purpose, unless this Authority were acknowledged by both Parties.

The *Old Testament* is a Book which was written by Divine Inspiration, and is endued with so supreme an Authority, as that every part of it ought to be believed. Yet doth not this work any whit at all with a *Pagan*, because he doth not acknowledge any such excellent worth to be in it.

In like manner is it, between the *New Testament* and the *Jew*: neither can it decide the Differences betwixt the *Jews* and us; not because it is not of sufficient Authority in it self; but, because it is not so to the *Jew*. And indeed he were worthy to be laughed at, whosoever should alledge, in disputing against the *Pagans*, the Authority of the *Old Testament*; or that of the *New*, for the bringing of a *Jew* over to our Belief.

Suppose therefore, that the Writings of the Fathers were clear, upon our Questions: nay which is more, let it be granted moreover (if you please,) that they were written by Divine Inspiration, and are of themselves of a Full

full and undeniable Authority: I say still, that they cannot decide our Debates, if so be that either of the Parties shall refuse to acknowledge this great and admirable dignity to be in them; much less if both Parties shall refuse to allow them to have this Priviledge. Let us now therefore see, in what account the several Parties have the Fathers; and, whether they acknowledge them as the *Supreme Judges* of their Religion; or at least as *Arbitrators*; whose definitive Sentence ought to stand firm and inviolable. As for our Protestants of *France*, whom their Adversaries would fain perswade, if they could, to receive the Fathers for Judges in Religion; and to whom consequently they ought not, according to the Laws of a legitimate Disputation; to alledge for the proof of any Point in debate, any other Principles, than what they do allow of; it is evident, that they attribute to the Fathers nothing less, than such an Authority. For, in the *Confessing of Faith* they declare, in the very beginning of it, That they hold the *Scriptures* to be the *Rule* of their Faith; and as for all other *Ecclesiastical Writings*, although they account them to be *useful*, yet nevertheless do they not conceive, that a man may safely build any Article of Faith upon them.

*Confess. de foy
des Eglis. Ref.
de Fran: Art. 4.*

And indeed seeing that they believe, (as they tell you immediately after,) that the *Scripture* containeth all things necessary both for the service of God, and the Salvation of mens Souls, they have no need of any other Judge, and should in vain have recourse to the Writings of the Ancients; the Authority whereof, how great soever it be, is still much less, both in it self, and also in respect of us, than that of the Bible.

In the next place they seriously profess; that their intent is to reform the Christian Doctrine according to this *Rule*; and to retain firmly what Articles of Faith soever are therein delivered; and to reject constantly all those, that are not there found laid down; how high and eminent soever the Authority be, that shall rescind the one,

or establish the other in the Belief of Men. *It is not Lawful* (say they) *for Men, nor yet for the Angels themselves, either to add to, or to diminish from, or to alter it; neither may Antiquity, nor Customs, nor Multitude, nor Judgments, nor Humane Wisdom, nor Definitive Sentences, nor Edicts, nor Decrees, nor Councils, nor Visions, nor Miracles be brought in opposition to it: but on the contrary rather, all other things ought to be examined, regulated, and reformed by it.* These be their own Words. If therefore they will not depart from this their Belief, which is as it were the Foundation and Key of their whole Reformation, they cannot receive the Fathers who lived in the Second, Third, and Fourth, and so in the following Centuries, as *Judges, nor yet Absolutely and Simply as Witnesses, in the Points of Faith.* For they all hold, That that Pure, Simple, and Holy Doctrine, which was taught and preached by the Apostles at the beginning of *Christianity*, and delivered over unto us by themselves in the *New Testament*, hath been by little and little altered and corrupted; Time, which changeth all things, continually mixing among it some Corruption or other; sometimes a *Jewish* or a *Heathenish* Opinion, and sometimes again some Nice Observation; otherwhiles some Superstitious Ceremony or other; whilst one building upon the Foundation with *Strubble*, another with *Hay*, a third with *Wood*; the Body seems at length, by little and little, to have become quite another thing than it Anciently was; we having, in stead of a Palace of Gold, and of Silver, a House built up of *Plaster, Stone, Wood, and Mud*, and the like pitiful Stuff. In like manner, (say they) as we see, that Brooks of Water, the farther distant they are from their Springs, the more Filth they contract, and the more doth their Water lose of its first Purity. And as a Man, the more he groweth in years, the more doth that Native Simplicity which appeared in him in his Infancy, decay; his Body and his Mind are changed, and he is so much altered by little and little, through Study, Art, and Cunning, that at length he

seemeth to be clean another Man : In like manner (say they) hath it fared with *Christianity*. And here they presently urge that notable Passage out of *S. Paul*, in his Second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, where he speaks of a Great *Falling away*, which then in his time began already to work secretly and insensibly, but was not to break forth till a long time after ; as you see it is in all Great Things, whether in Nature, or in the Affairs and Occurrences that happen to Mankind, which are all conceived and hatched slowly, and by degrees, and are sometimes a whole Age before they are brought forth.

Now, according to this *Hypothesis*, which, as I conceive, is equally common to us of *France*, and all other *Protestants* whatsoever, the Doctrine of the Church must necessarily have suffered some Alteration in the Second Age of *Christianity*, by admitting the Mixture of some New Matter into its Belief, and Policy : and so likewise in the Third Age some other Corruption must necessarily have got in ; and so in the Fourth, Fifth, and the rest that follow ; the *Christian Religion* continually losing something of Its Original Purity and Simplicity ; and on the other side still contracting all along some new Impurities, till at length it came to the highest Degree of Corruption : in which condition, they say, they found it ; and have now at last, by the Guidance of the Scriptures, restored it to the self-same State wherein it was at the Beginning ; and have, as it were, fixed it again upon its true and proper Hinge, from whence, partly by the Ignorance, and partly by the Fraud of Men, during the space of so many Ages together, it had by little and little been removed.

This therefore being their Opinion, they cannot admit of, as the *Rule* of all their Doctrine, the Writings of any of the Fathers, who lived from the Apostles time down to ours, without betraying and contradicting themselves. For, according to what they maintain, touching the Progress of Corruption in Religion, there hath

hath been some Alteration in the *Christian Doctrine*, both in the Second, Third, and all the following Ages.

And then again, according to what they conceive, and believe of their own *Reformation*, their Doctrine is the very same that was in the time of the Apostles, as being taken immediately out of their Books. If therefore they should examine it by what the Fathers of the Second Century believed, there must necessarily be something found in the Doctrine of the Fathers, which is not in theirs: and the Difference will be much greater, if the Comparison be made betwixt it, and the Doctrine of the Third, Fourth, and the following Ages; in all which, according to their *Hypothesis*, the Corruption hath continually encreased. For, if their Doctrines were in every respect conformable to each other, and had in them neither more nor less the one than the other, there must necessarily then follow one of these two things; namely, That either this Corruption, which they presuppose to be in the Belief, and Politie of the Church, is not that *Secret* which worked in *S. Paul's* time; or else, That their *Reformation* is not the Pure and Simple Doctrine of the Apostles: the Members of which Division are contradictory to those two Positions, which, as we have said, they all of them unanimously maintain. So that to avoid this Contradiction, it concerns them constantly to persevere in that which they profess is their Belief, in their *Confession of Faith*: to wit, That there are no Ecclesiastical Writings whatsoever, that are of so sufficient Authority, as that a Man may safely build upon them, and make them the *Judges of Faith*: and, That the Holy Scripture is the onely Rule by which all these things are to be examined.

And this is that which they All agree upon (as far as I have either read, or known;) as any Man may see in the Books of *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Luther*, *Beza*, and the rest; who all relie upon the Authority of the Scriptures onely; and admit not of any part of the Au-

thority of the Fathers, as a sufficient Ground whereon to build any Article of their Belief.

It is true, I confess, that some of their First Authors, as namely, *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, and *J. Jewell* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and in a manner all the Later Writers also, alledge the Testimonies of the Fathers; but (if you but mark it) it is onely by way of Confutation, and not of Establishing any thing: They do it onely to overthrow the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and not to strengthen their Own. For, though they hold, That the Doctrine of the *Fathers* is not so Pure as that of the *Apostles*; yet do they withal believe, that it is much Purer, than that which is at this day taught by the Church of *Rome*; the Purity of Doctrine having continually decayed, and the Impurity of it encreased, in such sort, as that the further they are removed from the Time of the *Apostles*, the nearer they approach (as they say) towards the afore-mentioned *Falling away*, spoken of by *S. Paul*.

Although the *Protestants* therefore allow the *Scriptures* onely for the True Foundation of their Faith; yet notwithstanding do they account the Writings of the Fathers to be Necessary also, and of good use unto them; first of all, in the Proving this Decay, which they say hath hapned in *Christianity*; and secondly, for the making it appear, that the Opinions which their Adversaries now maintain, were not in those days brought into any Form, but were as yet onely in their Seeds.

As for example, *Transubstantiation* was not as yet an Article of Faith; notwithstanding that long ago they did, innocently, and not foreseeing what the Issue might prove to be, believe some certain things, out of which, being afterwards licked over, by passing through divers several Languages, *Transubstantiation* was at length made up.

So likewise the Supremacy of the *Pope* had at that time no place in the belief of Men: although those small
 Thirds,

Threads, and Root-strings; from whence this Vast and Wonderful Power first sprung; long since appeared in the World.

And the like may be said of the greatest part of those other Points, which the *Protestants* will not by any means receive. And that this is their Resolution and Sense, appears evidently by those many Books which they have written upon this Subject, wherein they shew Historically the whole Progress of this Decay in *Christianity*, as well in its *Faith*, as in its *Polity*, and *Discipline*.

And truly this their Design seemeth to be very sufficient, and satisfactory. For, seeing that they propose nothing Positively, and as an Article of Faith, Necessary to Salvation, which may not easily and plainly be proved out of the Scripture; they have no need to make use of any other Principle; for the Demonstration of the Truth.

Furthermore, seeing that those Positive Articles of Faith which they believe, are in a manner all of them received, and confessed by the Church of Rome, as we have said before in the Preface to this Treatise, there is no need of troubling a Mans self to prove the same, those things which both Parties are agreed upon, being never to be proved, but are always presupposed in all Disputations.

Yet notwithstanding, if any one have a mind to be informed, what the Belief of the *Fathers* hath been touching the said Articles; it is an easie matter for them to make it appear, that they also believed all of them, as well as themselves: as, for Example. *That there is a God, a Christ, a Salvation, a Sacrament of Baptism, a Sacrament of the Eucharist*, and the like Truths; the greatest part whereof we have formerly set down, in the Beginning of this Discourse.

And as for those other Articles which are proposed to the World, besides all these, by the Church of Rome; it is sufficient

sufficient for them, that they are able to answer the Arguments which are brought to prove them, and to make it by this means appear, that they have not any sure Ground at all, and consequently neither may, nor ought to be received into the Faith of *Christians*. And this is the Use that the *Protestants* make of the *Fathers*; evidently making it appear to the World (out of them) that they did not hold the said Articles, as the Church of *Rome* doth at this day.

So that their alledging of the *Fathers* to this purpose onely, and indeed their Whole Practice in these Disputes, declare evidently enough, that they conceive not the Belief of the Church of *Rome* to be so perfectly and exactly conformable to that of Antiquity; especially of the Four or Five First Ages: which accords very well with their *Hypothesis* touching the Corruption of the *Christian* Doctrine: But yet no Man may conclude from hence, That they do allow of the Authority of the *Fathers* as a sufficient Foundation to ground any Article of Faith upon; for this is repugnant both to their Doctrine, and to the Protestation which they upon all occasions make expressly to the contrary. So that I cannot but extremely wonder at the Proceeding of some of our Modern Authors, who in their Disputations with the *Protestants* endeavour to prove the Articles of their Faith by Testimonies brought out of the *Fathers*; whereas the *Protestants* never go about to make good their own Opinions, but onely to overthrow those of their Adversaries, by urging the *Fathers* Testimonies.

For seeing that they of the Church of *Rome* maintain, That the Church neither hath, nor can possibly err in Points of Faith; and, That its Belief in Matters of Faith hath always been the same that it is at this day; it is sufficient for the *Protestants* to shew, by comparing the Doctrine of the Ancient *Fathers* with that of the Church of *Rome*, that there is great Difference betwixt them: neither doth this in any wise bind them to believe through-
out

but whatsoever the Fathers believed; it being evident, according to their *Hypothesis*, that there may have some Errors crept into their Belief; though certainly not such, nor so gross ones, as have been since entertained by the Church in the Ages succeeding.

We shall conclude therefore, That the *Protestants* acknowledge not, neither in the Fathers, nor in their Writings, any so Absolute Authority, as renders them capable of being received by us, as our Supreme Judges in Matters of Religion, and such from whom no Appeal can be made.

Whence it will follow, That although the Fathers might really perhaps have such an Authority; yet notwithstanding could not their Definitive Sentence put an end to any of our Controversies: and therefore it concerns the Church of *Rome* to have recourse to some other way of Proof, if they intend to prevail upon their Adversaries to receive the aforesaid Articles.

But what will you say now, if we make it appear to you, that the Church of *Rome* it self doth not allow that the Fathers have any such Authority? I suppose, that if we are able to do this, there is no Man so perverse, as not to confess, That this Proceeding of theirs, in grounding their Articles of Faith upon the Sayings of the Fathers, is not onely very Insufficient, but very Inconvenient also. For, how can it ever be endured, that a Man that would perswade you to the Belief of any thing, should for that purpose make use of the Testimony of some such Persons as neither you nor himself believe to be Infallibly True, and so fit to be trusted? Let us now therefore see whether those of the Church of *Rome* really have themselves so great an Esteem of the Fathers, as they would be thought to have, by this their Proceeding, or not.

Certainly several of the Learned of that Party have, upon divers occasions, let us see plain enough, that they make no more account of them, than the *Protestants* do. For, whereas these require, That the Authority of the

Fathers

Fathers be grounded upon that of the *Scripture*; and therefore receive nothing that they deliver, as Infallibly True, unless it be grounded upon the *Scripture*, passing by, or rejecting whatsoever they propose, either besides, or contrary to the Sense of the *Scripture*: the other in like manner will have the Judgment of the Fathers depend upon that of the *Church* in present being in every Age; and approve, pass by, or condemn all such Opinions of theirs, as the *Church* either approveth, passeth by, or condemneth. So that although they differ in this, That the one attributeth the *Supremacy* to the *Scripture*, and the other to the *Present Church* of their Age; yet notwithstanding they both agree in this, That both the one and the other of them equally deprive the Fathers of the same. Inasmuch that they both of them spend their time unprofitably enough, whilst they trouble themselves to plead their Cause before this *Inferiour Court*, where the wrangling and cunning Tricks of the Law have so much place; where the *Judgments* are hard to be got, and yet harder to be understood; and, when all is done, are not *Supreme*; but are such as both Parties believe they may lawfully appeal from: whereas they might, if they pleased, let alone these troublesome and useless Beatings about, and come at the first before the *Supreme Tribunal*, whether it be that of the *Scriptures*, or of the *Church*; where the *Suits* are not so long, and where the *Subtily* of *Pleading* is of much less use; where the *Sentences* also are more clear and express, and (which is the Chiefest thing of all) such as we cannot appeal from. But that we may not be thought to impose this Opinion upon the *Church of Rome* unjustly, let us hear them speak themselves;

Thom. de Vio.
Card. Cajet.
pref in Pentat.
Si quando
occurrit no-
vus sensus

Cardinal *Cajetan*, in his Preface upon the Five Books of *Moses*, speaking of his own Annotations upon the same, saith thus: *If you chance there to meet with any New Exposition, which is agreeable to the Text; and not Contrary either to the Scriptures, or to the Doctrine of the*

the Church, although perhaps it differ from that which is given by the whole Current of the Holy Doctors. I shall desire the Readers, that they would not too hastily reject it, but that they would rather censure charitably of it. Let them remember to give every man his due: there are none but the Authors of the Holy Scriptures alone, to whom we attribute such Authority, as that we ought to believe whatsoever they have written. But as for others, (saith St. Augustine) of how great Sanctity, and Learning so ever they may have been, I so read them, as that I do not believe what they have written; because they have written it.

Let no man therefore reject a new Exposition of any Passage of Scripture, under pretence that it is contrary to what the Ancient Doctors gave; but let him rather diligently examine the Text, and the contexture of the Scripture; and if he find that it accordeth well therewith, let him praise God, who hath not tyed the Exposition of the Scriptures, to the sense of the Ancient Doctors; but to the whole Scripture in self, under the censure of the Catholick Church. Melchior Canus, Bishop of the Canary Islands, having before declared himself, according as St. Augustine hath done, saying, that the Holy Scriptures only are exempt from all error, he further adds: † But there is no man, how holy, or learned soever he be, that is not sometimes deceived, that doth not sometimes dote, that doth not sometimes slip. And then alledging some of those examples, which we have before produced, he concludes in these words: * Let us therefore read the Ancient Fathers with all

St

due

textui consonus, nec à sacra scripturâ, nec ab Ecclesiâ doctrina dissonus, quamvis à torrente Doctorum sacrorum alienus, rogo Lectores omnes, ne precipites detestentur, sed æquos se præbeant censores. Meminerint jus suum unicuique tribuere: solis sacrae Scripturae auctoribus reservata auctoritas hæc est, ut idèd sic credamus esse, quia ipsi ita scripserunt. Alios autem (inquit Augustinus) ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpollent, non idèd credam sic esse, quia ipsi ita scripserunt. Nullus itaque detegitur novum S. Scripturae sensum, ex hoc quod dissonat priscis Doctoribus; sed scrutetur perspicacius textum & contextum Scripturae, & si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum, qui non alligavit expositionem S. Scripturarum priscorum Doctorum sensibus, sed Scripturae ipsi integræ sub Catholica Ecclesiæ censura.

† Melch. Can. loc Theol. I. 7. c. 3. num. 4. Cæteroqui nemo quantumvis eruditus, & sanctus, non interdum hallucinatur, non alicubi excutit, non quandoque lapitur.

Id. ibid. Legendum itaque à nobis Patres veteres cum reverentia quidem, sed ut homines, cum delectu atque judicio.

due Reverence, yet notwithstanding for as much as they were but Men, with Choice and Judgment.

And a little after he saith, That the Fathers sometimes fail, and bring forth Monsters, besides the ordinary course of Nature. And in the same place he saith,

Ibid. num. 7. Reliqui verò scriptores sancti inferiores & humani sunt, deficientque interdum, ac monitum quandoque pariunt, præter convenientem Ordinem, institutumque Naturæ

^a Ambros. Catharin. lib. 4. Annot. in Cajet. p. 273. Verissimum ergo est, quod sanctorum dicta, vel scripta in se non sunt firmæ auctoritatis, ut in singulis teneamus illis præbere assensum.

that To follow the Ancients in all things and to tread every where in their steps, as little Children use to do in play, is nothing else but to disparage our own Parts; and to confess our selves to have neither Judgment, nor Skill enough, for the searching into the Truth. No, let us follow them as Guides, but not as Masters. ^a It is very true (saith Ambrosius Catharinus in like manner) that the Sayings and Writings of the Fathers have not of themselves so absolute Authority, as that we are bound to assent to them in all things. The

Jesuits also themselves inform us sufficiently in many places, that they do not reckon themselves so tyed to follow the Judgment of the Fathers in all things, as people may imagine.

^b Petav. in Epiph. pag. 205. Nos eâ, quâ par est, moderatione in divinatorum hominum, sed hominum, errores, ac lapsus non tam inquirimus, quam oblatos ultrò, ac vel invitis occurrentes, ne cui fraudi sunt, patefacimus: tueri tamen, ac defendere nihilò magis quam eorum vicia, si quæ fuerint, imitari debemus.

^c *Id.* in Epiph. p. 244. Quamquam multa sunt à sanctissimis Patribus, præsertim à Chrysostomo in Homiliis aspersa, quæ si ad exactæ veritatis regulam accommodare

Petavius in his Annotations upon Epiphanius confesseth freely, ^b That the Fathers were men; that they had their failings; and, that we ought not maliciously to search after their Errors, that we may lay them open to the world, but that we may take the liberty to note them, when ever they come in our way, to the end that none be deceived by them: and, that we ought no more to maintain, or defend their Errors, than we ought to imitate their Vices, if at least they had any: and again, ^c That many things have slipped from them, which, if they were examined according to the exact Rule of Truth, could not

be reconciled to any good sense: and, that Himself hath observed, ^a *That they are our sufficiently, whenever* ^b *Id. ibid. pag. 285.* they speak of such Points of Faith, as were not at all cal- led in question in Their time. And to say the truth, He often rejects both Their Opinions, and Their Expositions also; and sometimes very Unruly too, as we have touch- ed ^c before, speaking of his Notes upon Epiphanius. ^d *Supr. c. 4.* And in one place, the Authority of some of the Fathers, which contradicted His Opinion, touching the Expositi- on of a certain passage in St. Luke, being objected against Him, He never taking the least notice at all of their Testi- monies, answers; ^e *That we ought to Inter- pret, and expound the Fathers by St. Luke, ra- ther than St. Luke by Them; because that They cannot herein say any thing, but what they have received from St. Luke:* Which, in my Judgment, was very Judiciously spoken of him: and besides, Exactly agrees with what St. Augustine said before, and which may ve- ry well be applied to the greatest part of our Differences; in all which the Fathers could not know any thing, save what they learnt out of the Scriptures: so that Their Testimonies, in these Cases, ought according to the Opinion of this Learned Jesuit, to be expounded, and interpreted by the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures by Them. And this is the language of all the rest of them.

Maldonat; who was a most bitter enemy of the Pro- testants, as ever there was any, having delivered the Judgment of some of the Fathers, who were of Op- inion that the sons of Zebeder answered not so rightly, when being asked by our Saviour, whether or no they were able to drink of his Cup, and to be Baptized with the Baptism that he was Baptized with, they said unto him; that they were able; adds, ^f *That for his part, he believed that they answered well.* And in another place, expounding the 2 Verse of the 19 Chapter of St. Matthew, disse, &c.

^a Petav. in Epiph. pag. 1105
Nec est quod certorum Pa-
trum opponatur auctoritas,
qui non aliud affirmare pos-
sunt, quam quod ex Luca
didicerunt, neque est ulla
ratio cur ex illorum verbis
Lucam interpretemur poti-
us, quam ex Luca quæ ab
illis asseverari videntur.

^b Maldonat. in
Matth. 20. 22.
Malo ego cre-
dere, nec te-
merè, nec in-
scienter, sed
amantè &
verè respon-

^a *Id. in Mat.*
19. 11. Quam
interpretatio-
nem adduci
non possum ut
sequare, &c.

having first brought in the Interpretations of divers, and indeed in a manner of all the Fathers, he says at last, *That he could not be persuaded to understand the places as they did.*

And here you are to note by the way, that the meaning of that place is still controverted at this day.

How then can this man conceive, that the Protestants should think themselves bound necessarily to follow the Judgment of this Major part of the Fathers, which themselves make so light of? In another place, where he hath occasion to speak of those words of our Saviour, which are at this day in debate amongst us, *The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* He is yet much more

ⁱ *Id. in Matth. 16. 18.* Quorum verborum sensus non videtur mihi esse, quem omnes præter Hilarium, quos legisse memini, auctores putant.

^k *Id. in Matth. 11. 11.* Habet ex multis opinionibus quam eligat lector; sed si meam quoque sententiam avertit audire, liberè fatebor, in nulla prorsus earum mecum qualecunque iudicium acquiescere.

^l *Id. in Job. 6. vers. 44.* Ammonius, Cyrillus, Theophylactus, et Euthymius, respondent, non omnes trahi, quia non omnes digni sunt; quod nimis affine est Pelagianorum errori.

^m *Salmer. in ep. ad Rom. 5. disput. 51. p. 468.* Tertio, argumentum periturum à Doctorum Antiquitate, cui semper maior honor est habitus, quam novitatibus. Respondetur, quamlibet ætatem Antiquitati semper detulisse, &c. sed illud offerimus quò juniores, eò perspicaciores esse Doctores.

down-right, and says, *The sense of these words is not rightly given by any Author, that I can remember, except St. Hilary.* So likewise upon the 11 Chapter of St. Matthew, vers. 11. where it is said, *The least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than John Baptist;* *The Opinions of the Fathers upon this passage (saith he) are very different: and to speak my mind freely, none of them all please me.*

In like manner upon the sixth Chapter of St. John, *Ammonius (saith he), St. Cyril, Theophylact, and Euthymius answer, that all are not drawn, because all are not worthy. But this comes too near to Pelagianism.* Salmeron, a famous Jesuit says thus: *Our Adversaries bring Arguments from the Antiquity of the Fathers, which I confess hath always been of more esteem than Novelties.*

I answer, That every Age hath yielded up to Antiquity, &c. But yet we must take liberty to say, that the later the Doctors are, the

the more quick-sighted they are. And again, ^p *Ibid.* col. Y. Denique contra
 " Against all this great multitude, which they hang, quam obsecant multi-
 bring against us, we answer, (saith he) out of tudinem, respondemus ex
 the Word of God; Thou shalt not follow a verbo Dei; Exod. 23. In ju-
 multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak- dicio plurimorum non acqui-
 in a cause, to decline after many, to wrest judi- ces sententia, ut à vero
 ment. Michael Medina, disputing at the Council of Trent, devies.
 touching the Superiority of a Bishop above a Priest; the
 Authority of St. Hierome, and of St. Augustine being pro-
 duced against him, who both held, that the difference be-
 twixt them was not of Divine, but only of Positive, and
 Ecclesiastical Right, ^o answers before the whole Congre- *Pierr. Sia-*
 gation, That it is no marvel, that they, and some others also *vez Poi. hist.*
 of the Fathers fell into this Heresie; this point being not *as del Concil. Tri-*
 then clearly determined of. *dent. lib. 7. pag.*

And that no man may doubt of the honesty of the ^{570.}
 Historian, who relateth this, do but hear Bellarmine
 who testifieth; ^p *That Medina assureth us,*
 that St. Hierome was in this point of Arian ^p *Bellarmin. de Cler. l. 1. c. 15.*
 his opinion; and, that not only he, but also Michael Medina in lib. 1. de
 St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, Sedulius, Prima- *saer. hist. orig. & contin.*
 sius, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and *d. 4. affirmat St. Hieronymum*
 Theophylact maintained all of them the same *idem omnino cum Arianis*
 Heresie. *sensisse: neque solum Hie-*
ronymum in ea hæresi fuisse,
sed etiam Ambrosium, Au-
gustinum, Sedulium, Prima-
sium, Theodoretum, Oecum-
enium, & Theophylactum.

We need not bring in here any more Ex-
 amples: do but read their Commentaries,
 their Disputations, and their other Discour-
 ses, and you will find them almost in every
 page, either rejecting, or correcting the Fathers. But I
 must not pass by the Testimony of Cornelius Mussus, Bi-
 shop of Bisonto, who indeed is more ingenuous, and
 more clear than all the rest.

† O Rome (saith he) to whom shall we go
 for Divine Counsels, unless to those persons to
 whose trust the Dispensation of the Divine
 Mysteries hath been committed. We are
 therefore to hear him, who is to us instead of
 God.

† *Corn. Muss. Episcop. Bi-*
ront. in ep. ad Rom. c. 14. pag.
606. A quo, Roma, qua-
renda sunt divina Consilia,
nisi ab illis, quibus myste-

riorum Dei dispensatio credita est? Quem ergo pro Deo habemus; in his quæ Dei sunt, quicquid ipse dixerit tanquam Deum audire debemus. Ego (ut ingenuè fateor) plus uni summo Pontifici crederem in his, quæ fidei mysteria tangunt, quam mille Augustinis, Hieronymis, Gregoriis; ne dicam Richardis, Scotis, Gulielmis. Credo enim, & scio, quod summus Pontifex, in his quæ fidei sunt, errare non potest; quoniam auctoritas determinandi quæ ad fidem spectant, in Pontifice residet.

God, in things that concern God, as God himself. Certainly, for my own part (that I may speak my mind freely) in things that belong to the Mysteries of Faith, I had rather believe one single Pope, than a thousand Augustines, Hieromes, or Gregories, that I may not speak of Richards, Scotusses, and Williams. For, I believe, and know, that the Pope cannot erre, in matters of Faith, because that the Authority, and Right of determining all such things, as are of all Points of Faith, resides in the Pope. This Passage may seem to some, to be both a very bold, and a very indiscreet one: but yet whosoever shall but examine the thing seriously, and as it is in it self, and not as it is in its outward appearances only,

which are contrived for the most part only to amuse the simpler sort of people, I am confident he will find, that this Author hath both most ingenuously, and most truly given the world an account, what Esteem the Church of Rome hath of the Fathers. For, seeing that these men maintain that the Pope is *Infallible*, and they confess with all that the Fathers may have erred: who seeth not, that they set the Pope very much above the Fathers? Neither may it be here replied, that they do not all of them hold; that the Pope is *Infallible*. For, besides that those among them, who do contradict this Opinion, are both the least, and the least considerable part also of the Church of Rome; these very men attribute to the present Church in being, in every Age, this Right of *Infallibility*, which they will not allow the Pope: insomuch that a Council, now called together, is, according to their account, of much greater Authority than the ancient Fathers. So that there is no more difference at all, betwixt these men and the fore-mentioned Italian Bishop, save only that whereas they will have the Authority of the ancient Fathers to submit to the whole Body of Modern Bishops assembled.

assembled in a General Council; He will have their Authority to be less, than that of a single Pope alone. All that can be found fault with in that speech of his, is perhaps that his Hyperbolical way of Expression, of a *thousand Augustines, Hierames, and Gregories*; all which joyned together, he, in too disdainful a manner, casts down beneath the feet of one single Pope. But this height of Expression may be somewhat excused in him, considering that such Excesses as these, are very ordinary with all high and free-spirited Persons.

But the Practice of the Church of Rome it self will be able to inform us more truly and clearly, what esteem they have of *Antiquity*. For, if we ought to stand to the *Fathers*, and not to depart from any thing that they have Authorized; nor to Ordain any thing that they were ignorant of, how comes it to pass, that we at this day see so many several Observations and Customs, which were observed by the Ancients, now quite laid aside? And whence is it, that we find in Antiquity no mention at all of many things, which are now in great request amongst us? There are as it were three principal Parts in Religion; namely, Points of Belief; of Ceremony, and of Discipline. We shall run them over lightly all three, and so far as is necessary only for our present purpose; that so we may let the world see, that in every one of these three parts they have both abolished, and established very many things, expressly against the Authority of the *Ancients*.

As for the first of these, we have formerly given the Reader some *Tasts* only, in the preceding Chapters. For we have seen, that the Opinion of the greatest part of the *Ancient Church*, touching the *State of the Soul*, till the time of the Resurrection, which besides is at this day also maintained by the *Greek Church*, was condemned, not much above two hundred years since, by the Church of Rome, at the Council of *Florence*; and a quite contrary Belief there established, as an Article of the Christian Faith.

† *Concil. Trident. Sess. 21. Can. Si quis dixerit, parvulis, antequam ad annos discretionis pervenerint, necessariam esse Eucharistiae communionem, anathema sit.*

We have seen besides, that the Opinion of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and even down as far as to the end of the Sixth Century after our Saviour Christ, and afterwards, was, that the Eucharist was as necessary to Salvation, as Baptism; and that consequently it was therefore to be administered to *little Children*. And yet for all this, the Council of *Trent* hath condemned this Opinion, as an Error in Faith, withal Anathematizing, by a Canon made expressly for that purpose, all those who ever should maintain the same. *Let him be Accursed* (say they) *whoever shall say, that the Eucharist is necessary for little Children, before they are come to years of discretion.* Only, that the *Fathers* might not take offence hereat, as having so fearful an Affront put upon them; these men have endeavoured to persuade both them and others, that they never did believe that, which themselves have most clearly, and in express Terms protested that they did believe, as we have before made it appear: which is, to double the injury upon them, rather than to make them any reparations for it; seeing that they deal with them now, not as *Hereticks* only, but as *Fools* also; whom a man may at pleasure persuade that they do not believe that which they really do believe.

We have abundantly heard out of *St. Hierome's* mouth, how that the Opinion of the *Christians* was of old maintained, by several of the *Ancient Fathers*; which yet is now condemned as an Error in Faith. And indeed the number of these kind of differences in Opinions is almost infinite.

It was accounted no Error in those days to believe, that the Soul was derived from the Father down to the Son, according to the ordinary course of Generation: but this Opinion would now be accounted an *Heresie*.

* *Epiphani ep. ad Joh. Hierosol. l. 2. p. 218. c. 2. Cum ergo hæc viderem in Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendentem imaginem, &c.*
 † *Conc. Elieberti. Can. 36.*

The Ancients held: *That it would be an opposing of the Authority of the Scriptures, if we should hang up the Picture of any Man in the Church: and that we ought not to have any Pictures in our Churches, that* *which*

which we worship and adore, be not painted upon a Wall. But now the Council of Trent hath Ordained the quite contrary, and says, *c* That we ought to have, and to keep, especially in our Churches, the Images of Christ, of the Virgin the Mother of God, and of the other Saints; and that we are to yield unto them all due Honour and Veneration.

d All the Ancient Fathers, as far as we can learn out of their Writings, believed, That the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived in Original Sin. If now the Fathers of the Council of Trent accounted them to be the Judges of Faith, what moved them then to imagine, that we ought not to believe, that they maintained any such Opinion? For, having delivered their Definitive Sentence in a Decree there passed to this purpose, and declared, That this Sin, which hath spread it self over the whole Mass of Mankind, by Propagation, and not by Imitation, hath seized on every Person in particular;

e They at length conclude, That their Intention is not to comprehend within this number the Blessed and Unspotted Virgin Mary, the Mother of God: Which Words of theirs it is impossible so to expound, as that they shall not in plain Terms give the Lie to All the Fathers.

For, if they mean by these Words, that the Virgin Mary was conceived without Sin, they flatly establish an Opinion which is contradictory to that of the Fathers; which is the grossest manner of giving them the Lie that can be.

If they mean here no more than this, (which Sense yet their Words will hardly be ever made to bear,) that it is not known as a certain Truth, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in Sin; they however honestly say

Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

Concil. Trident. Sess. 25. Decreto de Invocat. Eccl. Sanctorum. Imagines porro Christi, Deiparæ Virginis, & aliorum Sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas & retinendas, eisque debitum honorem & venerationem impertiendam.

Ambros. August. Chrysost. Eccl. de quibus vide Melch. Canum de loc. Theolog. l. 7. num. 341

Conc. Trident. Sess. 6. Decreto de Pecc. Origin. Declarat. tamen hæc ipsa Sancta Synodus, non esse suæ intentionis comprehendere in hoc Decreto, ubi de Peccato Originali agitur, B. & immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei genitricem.

in plain Terms, That these Good Men affirmed, as True, that which is yet Doubtful; and maintained as Certain, that which was but Problematical onely, and Questionable.

The Council of *Laodicea*, which is inserted into the

^f *Conc. Laod. Can. 49, 60. Cod. Græc. Can. Eccles. Univers. Can. 163.*

^g *Melit. Sard. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. c. 27.*

^h *Origen. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 6. c. 26. & in Philocal. c. 3.*

ⁱ *Cyrl. Hieros. Catech. 4.*

^k *Greg. Nazianz. Carm. 33. T. 2. p. 98.*

^l *Hilar. Prefat. in Psal. fol. 2.*

^m *Epiphani. l. de Ponder & Mens. T. 2. p. 162.*

ⁿ *Athanas. ep. Festal. T. 2. p. 38, 39. & Synops. Script. p. 58.*

^o *Ruffin. Expos. Symb. inier opera Cyr. p. 552.*

^p *Hac Procl. Galeato, & Procl. in lib. Salom. ad Paul. & Eszech. & Procl. in libr. Sal. ad Chron. & Heliod. & Prefat. in Esdr.*

^q *Conc. Trident. Sess. 4. Decr. de Can. Script. si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, & in veteri vulgata Latina Editione habentur, pro sacris & Canonicis non suscepit, &c. Anathema esto.*

Code of the Church Universal, ^f putteth not into the *Canon* of the Old Testament any more than Twenty two Books onely; excluding by this means out of this number, the Book of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, the Book of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees*. ^g *Melito* Bishop of *Sardin*, ^h *Origen*, ⁱ *Cyrl* of *Hierusalem*, ^k *Gregory Nazianzene*, ^l *S. Hilary*, ^m and *Epiphanius*, do all of them the same. ⁿ *Athanasius*, ^o *Ruffinus*, and ^p *S. Hierome* expressly reject these very Books, and cast them out of the *Canon*. And yet notwithstanding, the aforesaid Council of ^q *Trent* *Anathematizeth* all those who will not receive, as *Holy and Canonical*, all these Books, with every part of the same, as they are wont to be read in the Church, and as they are found in the *Old Latin Edition*, commonly called the *Vulgar Translation*. Where, besides the *Affront* which they have offered to so many of the *Ancient* and most *Eminent* among the *Fathers*, and indeed to the *Whole Primitive Church* it self, which received

this *Canon* of *Laodicea* in amongst its *Universal Rules*; they have also established a *Position* here, which was not till then so much as ever heard of in *Christianity*; namely, That the *Old Vulgar Translation* of the *Bible* is to be allowed of as *Canonical* and *Authentick* in the *Church of God*.

The

The CL Fathers of the Second General Council, and the DCXXX of the Fourth, were all of them of Opinion, That the Ancients had advanced the See of Rome above that of other Bishops, by reason of the Preeminence and Temporal Greatness of the City of Rome, over other Cities: and for the same reason they also thought good to advance, in like manner, the Throne of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the same Height with the former, by reason of the City where he resided being now arrived to the self-same Height of Dignity with Rome it self. I assure you, that for all this, he should now be *Anathema Maranatha*, whosoever should go about to derive the Supremacy of the Pope from any other Original, than from *TU ES PETRUS; & PASCE OVES MEAS.*

The Council of Trent Anathematizeth all those, who-soever shall deny, that *Bishops* are a Higher Order than *Priests*: and yet ^u S. Hierome, and divers others of the Fathers have openly done the same.

We have already told you here before, That the Church of Rome long since Excommunicated the *Greeks*, because they hold, That the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth not from the *Son*, but from the *Father* onely.

And yet for all this, *Theodore*, who expressly also denied in Terms, that the *Holy Ghost* proceeded from the *Son*, as we have shewed in the preceding Chapter, was received by the Ancient Church, and in particular by Pope *Leo* too, as a True Catholick Bishop, without requiring him to declare himself any otherwise, or to give them any Satisfaction touching this Point.

And indeed, we might reckon up very many the like Differences betwixt the *Roman* and the *Ancient* Church: but these Examples we have here produced will suffice, to let the World see, how the Church of Rome

Concil. Constant. I. Can. 3. Τὸν ἰσχυρὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἡσυχαστὴν ἔχον τὰ προσεχὴ καὶ τιμῆς μετὰ τὸ ῥωμαίων ὀπίσκειν, διὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου πᾶν Ρωμῶν.

Conc. Chalced. Can. 28 Καὶ ὁ τὸ ἴδιον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ῥωμαίων, διὰ τὸ καταδύειν τὸ πᾶν ἐκείνῳ, οὐ παύσει οὐδέτοις ἀποδοῦναι τὰ πρεσβυτέρῳ, &c. τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ συγκαλῆται τῇ μητροπόλει πᾶν, καὶ ἵσον ἀπολαύσαντες πρεσβυτέρων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ καταδύειν ῥωμῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνῳ μετὰ γαλιλάῃς περὶ γυναικὸς.

Conc. Trid.

Sess. 23 cap. 4.

& Con. 7. Si

quis dixerit,

Episcopus non

esse Presbyteris

superiores,

&c. anathema

sit.

Hieron. pas-

sim: vide su-

pra, lib. 1. c. ult.

holdeth, That the Authority of the Opinions of the Ancients ought to be accounted Supreme.

We shall proceed in the next place to say something of the Ceremonies in the Christian Religion.

The first of all is *Baptism*, which takes us out of Nature's Stock, and engrafsis us into *Jesus Christ*. Now it was a Custom heretofore in the Ancient Church, to plunge those they Baptized over head and ears in the Water, as

both *Tertullian*, *S. Cyrian*, *Epiphanius*, and others testify. And indeed they plunged them thus three several times, as the same *Tertullian*, and *S. Hierome*

both inform us. And this is still the Practice both of the Greek, and of the Russian Church, even at this very day. And yet notwithstanding, this Custom, which is both

so Ancient, and so Universal, is now abolished by the Church of Rome. And this is

the reason that the *Mashevites* say, That the Latins are not Rightly and Daily Baptized, because they are not wont to use this Ancient Ceremony in their Baptism, which,

they say, is expressly enjoyned them in the Canons of *Joannes Metropolitanus*, whom they hold to have been a Prophet.

And indeed *Gregory*, the Greek Monk, who was notwithstanding a great Stickler for the Union in the Council of Florence,

doth yet confess, in his Answer to the Epistle of *Mark Bishop of Ephesus*, that it is Necessary in

Baptism, that the Persons to be Baptized should be thrice dipped over Head and Ears in the Water. At their coming out of the Water, in the Ancient Church they gave them to eat Milk and Honey, as the same Authors witness; and immediately after this, they made them all Partakers also of the Blessed Communion,

both great and small: whence the Custom

still

Tertul. lib. de Cor. Mil. c. 3.

Cyp. ep. 76. p. 211. ubi videtur Pamel.

Epiphanius Pan. Her. 30. p. 128.

Tertul. lib. de Cor. Mil. c. 3. & lib. adv. Prax. c. 26.

Hieron Dial. advers. Jutifer. T. 2. p. 187. In lavacro ter caput mergitare.

Cassand. l. de Bapt. Inf. p. 693.

Greg. Mon. Protosync. in Apol. contr. ep. Marc. p. 721. Tom 4. Conc. Gen. Ors. ubi avayxatby &c.

70 da teidy xalla donay, &c.

Tertul. & Hieron. ubi sup. De inde egressos lactis & mellis prægustare concordiam.

Alvarez, in his Voyage to Ethiopia. A tutti quelli che battezzano, cosi maschi, come femine, danno il sacramento in povera quantita, &c.

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still remains in *Æthiopia*, of Administering the *Eucharist* to Little Children, and making them take down a small quantity of it, as soon as ever they are Baptised.

What have these our so great Adorers of Antiquity now done with these *Ceremonies*? Where is the *Milk*, or the *Honey*, or the *Eucharist*, which the Ancient Fathers were wont to administer to all, immediately after Baptism? Certainly these things, notwithstanding the Practice of the Ancients, have been now long since buried, and forgotten at *Rome*.

In Ancient Times they often deferred the Baptising both of Infants, and of other People, as appears by the History of the Emperours ^k *Constantine the Great*, of ^k *Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 4.* ^l *Constantius*, of ^m *Theodosius*, of *Valentinian*, and of ^l *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37.* ⁿ *Gratian*, in ⁿ *S. Ambrose*; and also by the Orations and Homilies of ^o *Gregory Nazianzen*, and of ^p *S. Basil* upon this Subject. ^o *Ambros. Orat. de obit. Valentin. T. 3. p. 9.* ^o *Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 40.* ^p *Basil. Homil.*

And some of the Fathers too have been of Opinion, that it is fit it should be deferred; as namely, *Tertullian*, as we have formerly noted of him.

How comes it to pass now, that there is not so much as any the least Trace or Footing of this Custom to be found at this day in the Church of *Rome*?

Nay, whence is it besides, that they will not so much as endure the very mention of it, and would abhor the Man that should but go about to put it in practice?

I shall here forbear to speak of the *Times* of Administering *Baptism*; which was performed ordinarily in the Ancient Church but onely upon the *Eves* of *Easter-day*, and of *Whitsunday*: Neither shall I say any thing of the Ceremony of the *Paschal Taper*, and the *Albes*, or White Vestments, ^q that the new-baptised Persons were used ^q *Cassand. in Hymno, p. 287, 328.* to wear all *Easter-Week*; because that it may be thought perhaps, that these are too light Circumstances: although, to say the plain truth, if we are to regard the Authority of Men, and not the Reason of the Things themselves,

selves, I do not at all see, why all the whole Rites should not still be retained, as well as those *Exorcisms*, and Renouncings of the Devil and the World, with all its Pomp and Vanities, which in Imitation of Antiquity, are at this day, though very improperly, acted by them over little Infants, though but of a day old.

^r *Cassand. in Liturg. c. 26.*

As for the *Eucharist*, ^r *Cassander* sheweth clearly, That it was Celebrated in the Ancient Church with *Bread* and *Wine*, offered by the *People*; and, that the Bread was first broken into several Pieces, and then Consecrated afterwards, and distributed among the Faithful.

Notwithstanding, the contrary Use hath now prevailed; neither do they Consecrate any Bread which is offered by the *People*, which was the Ancient Custom, but only little *Wafers* *Cakes*, made round in the Form of a

^r *Apud Cassand. in Liturg. c. 26. p. 60.*

^r *Cassand. in Liturg. p. 63. 64. c. 28.*

Discere, ^r which yet is very sharply reprov'd in the Old Exposition of the *Ordo Romanus*, &c.

^r *Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 5. & can. 9.*

The same ^r *Cassander* also gives us an Account at large, how that in Ancient Times the *Canonical Prayer*, and the Consecration of the *Eucharist* was read out with a loud Voice, and in such sort, as that the *People* might all of them be able to hear it, that so they might say *Amen* to it: whereas the ^r *Priest* now pronounceth it with a very low Voice, so that none of the Congregation can tell what he says; and hence it is, that this part of the Liturgy is called *Secret*.

^r *Lib. 1. c. 5.*

We have ^r formerly shewed, how that the Ancient Fathers concealed heretofore, as carefully as they could, the *Matter* and the *Rites* used in the Celebration of this Holy Sacrament; which they never performed in presence either of the *Catechumens*, or of Unbelievers. But now there is not any such care taken at all herein, but they Celebrate the *Eucharist* Openly and Publickly, even before *Jews*, *Pagans*, or *Mahometans*, without any more regard had to these Ancient Rules, than as if there had never been any such thing.

And as if the Design of these Men were to run cross to Antiquity

Antiquity in all things, whereas they concealed the Sacrament as much as they could, these shew it now openly, and carry it publicly abroad every day through the Streets, and sometimes also go in Solemn Procession with it: which Custom of theirs is of very late standing among Christians, and which heretofore would have looked not onely very strangely, but would have been accounted rather Profane and Unlawful. And thus have the Customs and Observations of the Ancient Fathers been quite laid aside, and other new ones, which they never heard of, instituted in their place.

The same ^a *Cassander* also proveth, That in Ancient ^a *Cassand. in* Times they never celebrated the Eucharist, save onely in ^{Liturg. 55.} the presence of those that were to Communicate; and, ^{c. 26.} that all the rest withdrew. It is most clear, that S. Chrysostom very bitterly reproves those who would assist at the Celebration of the Eucharist; though not Communicate.

And indeed we at this day see in the *Esbiopick* ^b *Liturgy*, ^b *Liturg. Æ.* that the Gospel being read, the Deacon cries aloud, *All* *ibid.* *you that will not receive the Sacrament, depart: Withdraw* *you, Catechumens,* And again, after the Creed is sung, he saith to the People, ^c *Let them that will not Communi-* ^c *Ibid.* *cate, depart.*

But now a days, for the most part, none of those who assist at the Celebration, Communicate of it: they content themselves with Adoring the Sacrament onely, without partaking of it at all: whence you have this manner of speaking; *To hear Mass;* and, *To see Mass.* ^d S. Chrysostome saith, *Whoever shall stay here, and not participate of the Mysteries, behaves himself like an impudent, shameless Person. I beseech you* (saith he) *if any one that were invited to a Feast, should come and sit down, after he hath washed his Hands, and fitted him-*

^a *Chryst. Homil. 3. in ep. ad Ephes. T. 3. p. 78. edit. Savilii.*
Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων. ὅτι μυστηρίον ἀναχωρῶντος, καὶ ἀτιμῶς ἔσθαι, &c. Ἀπὲρ μοι, ὁ τις εἰς ἱεράριον κληθεὶς, τὰς χεῖρας νύχασσῃ, καὶ καθύπευθε, καὶ ἔτοιμος μὲν ᾖ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τῷ τε ἑσπέρῳ, ἅτα μὴ μετέχων. ἔχῃ ὕβριν καὶ καλῶς αἰσῶν, ὁ βλάπῃ τὸ τοῦτον μυστήριον παραμένει; ἔτω δὲ καὶ οὐ παραμένων, καὶ ὁμοθυμῶντος ὁ θεὸς ἀξίων, τὸ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀναξίον ἀναχωρεῖν. πῶς βιωμεν, καὶ μετέχων, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων.

self

self to come to the Table, and at length should forbear to touch any of those Dishes which are served in upon it, would not this be a very great Affront to him who invited him? Had he not better to have forbore coming at all? It is the very same Case here. Thou hast come, and hast Sung the Hymn; and seeing thou hast not retired with those that were not worthy, hast thereby also professed thy self to be of the number of those who are Worthy. How comes it to pass, that seeing thou hast staid behind, thou dost not Communicate of this Table? and so on, as followeth in S. Chrysostome. If any Man should now preach this Doctrine to the Romanists, would they not laugh at him, as a Ridiculous Fellow? soasmuch as their Custom in this Particular is far different (as every one sees) from what it was heretofore in the Ancient Church.

It is as clear as the day, that all along in the Ancient Church, it was Lawful for any of the Faithful to take home with them the Holy Eucharist, which they might keep in any Private place, to take it afterwards by themselves alone, whenever they pleased.

Whence it is, that *Tersullian* adviseth those who durst not Communicate upon the days appointed for that purpose, for fear of breaking their Fast, to keep the Body of

Christ by them. ^a Receiving the Body of Christ (saith he) and keeping it by thee, both are preserved entire, both the Participation of the Sacrifice, and the Discharge of thy Duty. And this appears also by a Story related by S. Cyprian, of a certain Woman, ^b Who going about to open, with unworthy hands, a Coffer of hers, where the Eucharist was laid up, she presently saw Fire breaking forth thence, which so amazed her, at that she durst not touch

^a *Tertul. lib. de Orat. c. 4.* Accipio corpore Domini, & reservato, utrumque salvum est, & participatio Sacrificii, & executio officii.

^b *Cyprian. l. de Lay. p. 244.* Cum quædam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet attingere.

And S. Ambrose also, a long while after S. Cyprian, testifieth sufficiently, That this Custom in his time continued

continued in the Church, where he tells the story of his Brother *Satyrus*, who being upon the Sea, and in danger of shipwrack, And fearing withal lest he should go out of the world without the Holy Mysteries, (for he was yet but of the number of the Catechumens,) he made his addresses to those whom he knew to have been initiated, and desired of them to give him the Divine Sacrament of the Faithful: not that he might therewith satisfy the Curiosity of his Eyes, but that it might strengthen his Faith. And so having put it into a handkerchief, and then tying the handkerchief about his neck, he threw himself into the Sea, and was saved. If Rome doth indeed bear so great respect to the Fathers, as they would make us believe, why hath it not then retained this Custom? Why then should that which was then so ordinarily practised, be now in our days so much disliked, as that they will not by any means permit the Fryers to keep the Eucharist in their Covent, nor yet in their Quire, nor in any other place, save only the Publick Church. St. Ambrose informs us moreover, that in those times they made no scruple at all of carrying the Eucharist upon the Sea; which Custom of the Ancients is so much disliked by the Church of Rome in our days, as that they hold it an unlawful thing, either to Consecrate, or to carry the Sacrament ready consecrated, upon any water whatever, whether it be that of the Sea, or of Rivers.

This very Custom of the Ancients keeping the Sacrament by them, proves unto us very clearly, that the Faithful in those days received the Sacrament with their Hands: which is also plainly enough intimated unto us by *Tertullian*; where inveighing against those among the Christians, who were Gravers, or Painters, by their

Ambros. de obit. Satyr. p. 19. T. 3. Non mortem metuens, sed ne vacuus mysterii exiret: & vita, quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidei lulum Sacramentum poscit, non ut curiosos oculos insereret arcanis, sed ut fidei suae consequeretur auxilium. Etenim ligari fecit in oratorio, & orarium, involvit collo, atque ita se dejecit in mare.

Conc. Trid. sess. 25. de re vel. & Mon. cap. 10.

^a Tertul. lib. de idol. cap. 7.
Eis manus admoveat corpori Domini, quia Damonis corpora conferunt.

^b Cyprian. epist. 56. Cy. lib. de boni Patientia p. 31. 64.

^c Greg. Naz. Catech. 63.

^d St. Cyprian. de lapsis, c. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

^e Synod. Quinis. Can.

101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

^f Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^g Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^h sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

ⁱ illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

^j Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^k Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^l sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

^m illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

ⁿ Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^o Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^p sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

^q illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

^r Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^s Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^t sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

^u illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

^v Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^w Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^x sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

^y illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

^z Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^{aa} Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^{ab} sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

^{ac} illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

^{ad} Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^{ae} Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

^{af} sacra, in quibus solus Sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat,

^{ag} illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.

^{ah} Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &

^{ai} Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-

Profession; he reprovet them, for touching the Body of our Saviour with those very hands, which bestowed bodies on Devils: that is to say, with those hands, wherewith they made Idols. St. Cyprian is clear in this point in divers several places: Gregory Nazianzen also testifieth the same in his LXIII Poem. And in the Canons of the Council of Constantinople in Trullo, holden in the year of our Lord DC. LXXX. there is one, which appointeth, That he, who is to Communicate, place his hands in the form of a Cross, and so receive the Communication of Grace: which had been the Practice, down from the time of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. And yet notwithstanding there is no man but knows, that this Custom hath no place now in the Church of Rome; where the Communicants receive the Eucharist, not with their hand, but with their mouth, into which it is put by the Priest.

I would also very gladly be informed, by what Canon of the Ancient Church those single Masses, which are now celebrated, and said every day, where none Communicates but the Priest alone who Consecrates the Host, were instituted, or permitted: and what, how that Respect, which they pretend they bear to Antiquity, can stand with that Canon of the Council of Trent, which saith: *Whosoever shall say, that those Masses, wherein the Priest alone Communicateth Sacramentally, are unlawful, and fit to be abolished, let him be Accursed*: Seeing that these kind of Masses were utterly unknown to the Ancient Church, as Cassander proveth at large, in his Consultatio de Anticulis Religionis, written to the Emperour Ferdinand.

But that which most of all gives offence to those that are devoted to Antiquity, is the Custom which the Church

Church of Rome hath introduced and established, by the express Decrees and Canons of two of their General Councils, the one holden at ¹ *Constance*, and the other at ² *Gene. Con-*
³ *Trent*, of not allowing the Communion of the Cup to any, save only to the Priest who Consecrates the same; ex-
cluding by this means, first of all, all the Laity, and se-
condly all the Priests also, and other of the Clergie, who
had not the Consecrating of it: whereas the whole An-
cient Church, for the space of fourteen hundred years,
admitted both the one and the other to the Communion
of the Holy and Blessed Cup, as well as to the participati-
on of the Consecrated Bread; as those of these two Coun-
cils themselves confess, in the ¹ Preface to
this New Constitution. And this is still the
practice also at this day, among all Christi-
ans throughout the World, both Russians,
² Greeks, Armenians, ³ Ethiopians, ⁴ Proto-
stants, and all others in general, except the
Latines only, who are of the Communion
of the Church of Rome. But besides that
the Ancients permitted this Communion
under both Kinds, (as they use to speak,) it
seemeth (which is yet much more,) that, un-
less it were in some extraordinary Cases,
they did not at all permit the Communica-
ting under one Kind only. For otherwise,
why should Pope ⁵ *Leo* give this very thing,
as a mark to distinguish the Manichees from
the Catholics? When they sometimes are
present at our Mysteries, (saith he) that so
they may vide their infidelity, they so order
the matter in their participating of these
Mysteries, as that they receive the Body of
Christ into their unworthy mouth, but will not
take into it one drop of the Blood of our Re-
demption; and he further adds; This he
gave his Auditor; his advertisement, that they

stant. Sess. 13.

Conc. Trid. Sess. 21. c. 6

2. Can. 2.

Ibid. c. 2. Licet ab initio Christiana Religio non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset, &c.

Jerem. P. CN. Resp. 1. ad Wilemb.

Alvarez. in his Voyage, lib. 11. Quamvis si communicano col corpo, si communicano anche col sangue.

Confess. Eccles. Angl. art. 12.

Leo 1. P. R. serm. 4 de Quadrag. pag 108. Cumque ad regendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in Sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut iterum utriusque latens ore ind gno Christi corpus accipiunt, Sanguinem autem redemptionis postre omnino haurire declinant. Quod ideo vestram volumus scire sanctitatem, ut nobis huiusmodi homines & his manifestentur indicis,

they pretend to bear toward *Antiquity*, where it is said, that, *Whoever shall say, that the Holy Catholick Church hath not been induced by just Causes, and Reasons, to communicate to the Laity, and even to the Priests too, who do not Consecrate, under the Kind of Bread only; or that it hath erred in this Point, let him be Accused?* For, it seemeth to be no very easie matter, to be able to acquit the *Modern Church*, without condemning the *Ancient*, seeing their Practices have been manifestly contradictory to each other; the *Modern Church* forbidding that, which the *Ancient* permitted; and the *Ancient Church* seeming to have expressly forbid that, which the *Modern* commandeth. How can you say, that the one had just Reasons for what it did; unless you withal grant, that the other in doing the contrary, had either no Reason at all, or else but very unjust ones? seeing it is most clear, that neither the *World*, nor the *Times* are any whit changed, within this two hundred years, from what they were before. For, it is impossible for any man to alledge any Reason, for the Practice of the *Moderns*; which should not in like manner have obliged the *Ancients*; nor again to produce any Reason for the contrary Practice of the *Ancients*, which doth not in like manner oblige the *Moderns*. So that of necessity, either the one or the other of them must needs have been guilty either of Error, or at least of Negligence, and of Ignorance. We may very well therefore conclude, that the Church of *Rome*, seeing it believes it self to be *Infallible*, manifestly in this particular condemned the *Ancient Church*, as guilty of Ignorance, or of Negligence at the least; which, in my Judgment, seems not so well to become those persons, who do nothing else but continually preach unto us the Honour of *Antiquity*. But here now will all the true Honourers of *Antiquity* have as good sport as can be. For, as for those Reasons, by which the Fathers

of :

of the Council of *Trent* were induced to make the aforementioned Decree: how (will they say) may we be able to come to the knowledge, whether they were just or not; seeing that they themselves produce none at all? Whereas the Reasons, which moved the Ancients to do as they did, and which you have set down at large in a certain Discourse printed at *Paris*, at the end of *Cassanders Works*, are very solid, and clear; and, in my judgment, very full both of Wisdom and of Charity. But we shall not need to enter any further into this Contestation: it is sufficient for my purpose, that the Church of *Rome*, in doing thus, hath manifestly abolished a very ancient Custom in the Church.

Inter Opera
Cassand. pag.
3019.

Besides these Ceremonies, which were practised by the Fathers in *Baptism*, and in the *Eucharist*, they have laid by many other also, which have been heretofore in use in the Church. I shall not here speak of the *Fasting* upon *Saturdays*, which is observed by the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the ancient practice of the whole Christian Church besides, who all accounted it unlawful: because

^a *August. T. 2. Ep. 36. ad Celsulan. p. 74. & 75.*

^b *Firmil. in ep. ad Cyr. que est inter Epist. Cyr. 75. Eos qui Romæ sunt non ea in omnibus observare, quæ sint ab origine tradita; ut frustra Apostolorum Auctoritatem prætere, scire quis etiam inde potest, &c.*

this difference in Practice is as ancient as ^a *St. Augustine's* time; and therefore ought not to be imputed to the Modern Church of *Rome*. I shall for the same reason also pass by that which ^b *Firmilianus* saith; namely, how that in his time, that is to say, about two hundred and fifty years after the Nativity of our Saviour Christ, *Those of Rome did not in all things observe, whatsoever had been delivered from the beginning; and, that they did in vain, alledge the Authority of the Apostles.* But this I shall desire the Reader to take notice of, that anciently it was a general Custom throughout all Christendom, not to *Kneel*, neither upon the *Lords days*, nor upon any day betwixt *Easter day* and *Whitsunday*, which Custom hath been generally abolished by the whole Church of *Rome*; and yet notwithstanding, whether you con-

sider the *Antiquity*, or whether you look upon the Authority of those who both practised this themselves, and also recommended it to our observation, you will hardly find any more venerable Custom than this. For, the Au-

thor of the *Questions and Answers*, attributed to *Justin Martyr*, makes mention of this Custom, and withal gives the Reason and Ground of it; and besides, proveth by a certain passage, which he produceth out of *Irenæus*, that it had its beginning in the *Apostolical Times*.

Tertullian also speaks of it; and both *Epiphanius*, and *St. Hierome* reckon it among the *Institutions* of the *Church*; and, which is yet more than all this, the Sacred General Council of *Nice* authorized the same, by an express *Canon*, made to that purpose. For as much in there are same, (say these CCC. XVIII. Venerable Fathers) who Kneel upon the Lords Day, and upon the Days of *Pentecost*, to the end that in all *Parishes*, or (as we now speak) *Dioceses*, there may be the same Order observed in all things, this Holy Synod ordaineth, that (on these days) they all pray Standing.

And this ancient Constitution was revived again, and explained, in the Council of *Constantinople* in *Trullo*, toward the end of the seventh Century, where it was expressly forbidden to Kneel; during the space of those twenty four hours that pass betwixt *Saturday Evening*, and *Sunday Evening*. Every body knows also, how that they have abrogated the *Fast*, that was wont to be observed upon the *Fourth* day of the week, that is to say, on *Wednesday*, which yet *Ignat. Epist.* was the Practice of the Ancients, as appears by what we find in *Ignatius*, in *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and in *MS.*

Pseudo. Isid. Q. & R.

Quest. 115. in ista synodo

Δικων & Χειρων η τοιαυτη

συνήθεια. Ιαβα τω εβ-

χλω. κατας ορισ ο μα-

ναος. Επιδωσ ο μαρ-

τυς, & επροσθ. Αρσ-

τη, ε τω εβδωδα. Ιαβα. Λα-

γος, &c.

Επιφ. lib. de Econ. milita-

cap. 3.

Επιφ. in Panar. in conclus-

opis.

Hiéron. Dial. contr. Lucifer.

p. 187. T. 2.

Conc. Nic. Can. 20.

¹ Epiph. *Panar. her.* 75.
Aerii, pag. 910. *Tim. 88*

ο συμπαύσαι ἐν πᾶσι
κλήμασι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅτι
τελεγε, ὃ προσέβατον
νύκτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ὡρεσθῆναι

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* l. 7. p.
317.

³ Hieron. l. cont. *Vigil* p 163.
De *Vigiliis & pernoctationi-*
*b*us *Martyrum* saepe celebra-
dis, &c.

⁴ Id. *Com. 4. in Matth.* p. 121.
Unde reor & Traditionem
Apostolicam pertransisse, ut
in die *Vigiliarum* Pasche an-
te noctis dimidium populus
dimittere non liceat, expe-
ctantes adventum Christi.

⁵ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

⁶ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

⁷ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

⁸ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

⁹ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁰ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹¹ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹² Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹³ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁴ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁵ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁶ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁷ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁸ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

¹⁹ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

²⁰ Hieron. *l. cont. Vigil* p 163.

and a Martyr, in ¹ Epiphanius, ² Clement
Alexandrinus, and others.

By the same Liberty have those *Vigils*
been abolished, which were ordinarily kept
by the Ancient Church, and both approved,
and defended also by ³ St. Hierome, against
Vigilantius, who found fault with them;
though his Opinion hath now at length
found more favour in the World, than St.
Hierome's. The same ⁴ Father in another
place delivers unto us, for an *Apostolical*
Tradition, that Custom, which they had in
his time, of not suffering the people to de-
part out of the Church, upon *Easter Eve*,
till midnight was past. What is now be-
come of this Custom, which was not only
an ancient one, but was derived also from
the *Apostles* themselves, if you dare believe
St. Hierome?

We are informed from several Hands, that that Com-
mand of *Abstaining from Blood*, and from *Things strang-*
led, was for a long time observed in the Church. And
it appears evident enough, that it was most Religiously
kept in the Primitive times, both by the Testimony of
⁵ Tertullian, and of ⁶ Eusebius. And the Council of
Constantinople in *Trullo* excommunicates all those of the
Laity, and depoleth all those of the *Clergie*, that shall
offend therein. And ⁷ Pamelius, in his Notes upon *Ter-*
tullian's Apologeticks, informs us, that it is not long since
the observation of this Custom was first laid aside among
Christians; it being not much above four hundred years,
since there was some certain Penalties appointed for those
that should violate the same. And yet notwithstanding
for all its *mignity*, and *Universality*, it is at length
quite vanished; the Church of *Rome* having in very gen-
tle wise, and by little and little laid it aside, so many
that I know of, having taken the least notice either of the

Time

Time, when, or the Manner, how this was done: Only this we all see plainly enough, that it is now quite out of Use.

The like may be said of that Custom of Praying for the *Saints Departed*, which was clearly the Practice of the Ancients. *We pray* (saith Epiphanius) *for the Just, the Fathers, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, &c. that we may distinguish the Lord Jesus Christ from the order of Men, by that Honour which we pay unto Him.* We have also some of their Prayers to this purpose yet remaining; as namely, in the Liturgy of *St. James*. And in the *Syriack Liturgie* of *St. Basil*, after they had mentioned the *Patriarchs, the Prophets, John Baptist, St. Stephen, the Virgin Mary,* and all the rest of the *Saints*, they at last added; *We daily send up our Prayers and Supplications unto thee for them.* And a little after; *Lord, remember also* (saith the Priest) *all those, who are departed this life, and the Orthodox Bishops, who have made a clear and open Profession of the true Faith, from the Apostles, Peter and James, to this day; of Ignatius, Dionysius, &c.* And then he saith, with a loud voice: *Remember also, Lord, those who have persevered even to Blood, for the Word of a Good Fear.* So likewise in the Liturgy of *St. Chrysostom*; *We offer unto thee this Reasonable Service, for all those who have departed in thy Faith, &c.* And yet notwithstanding the Church of *Rome* hath utterly abolished this Custom; and without all question, believes, that you could not do the *Saints* a greater injury, than if you should now make any such Supplications for them.

X X

Those

Epiph. Pan. Har. 75. Actii
pag. 911. Καὶ γὰρ δικαίων
ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην, καὶ
ἰδοὺ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, &c.
ἰδοὺ δὲ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων
καὶ παλαιάρχων, καὶ προφη-
τῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐσαγγε-
λιστῶν, καὶ μαρτύρων, καὶ ὁμολο-
γητῶν, ἀποστόλων τε, καὶ
ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ πάντος τοῦ
ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ, ἵνα τὸν Κύριον
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀποδοξάσῃ
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδραγαθῶν τά-
ξεως, διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
τιμῆς, καὶ σέβας αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
δοῦναι, &c.

Liturg. Jacob. pag. 29.
Edit. Par. An. 1560. apud
*Guilielm. Morel. Μνήμητι, Κό-
μις θεός τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ
πάντος σαρκός, ἐν ἐμνήθη-
σιν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμνήθησιν,
ὁρθοῦσιν, ὑπὸ Ἀβελ τοῦ δι-
καίου, μετὰ τῆς σήμερον
ἡμέρας· αὐτὸς ἐκεί αὐτοῦ
ἀναπαύσιν, ἐν χάριτι ζών-
των, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου,
&c.*

Liturg. Syriac. Basil.
*Liturg. Chrysost. ὅτι πρὸς-
εβραμὲν σοι τὴν λογιὰν
ταύτην λαλῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν
πίσει ἀναπαυομένου πρὸς
πατέρων, πατέρων, παλαι-
άρχων, προφητῶν, &c.*
vide & Liturg. St. Marc. T. 2.
Gr. Lat. Bibl. PP. pag. 14.
*τοῦ ἐν πίσει Χριστοῦ πρὸς
κοιμωμένων πατέρων τε καὶ
ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνα-
παύσιν, Κύριε, (παι.) ὅς
μοι: καὶ τίτῃται πάντων τὰς
ψυχὰς ἀναπαύσιν, Ναυόσα,
&c.*

² Pont. Diac. in vita Expr. Judicio Dei, & plebis favore, ad officium Sacerdotii, & Episcopatus gradum adhuc neophytus, ut putabatur, novellus, electus est.

³ *Cyprian. epist. 42. pag. 93.* Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus, de Dei & Christi ejus judicio, de Clericorum penè omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affluit suffragio, & de Sacerdotum antiquorum, & bonorum virorum Collegio.

⁴ *Idem. Epist. 68. pag. 166.* Quando ipsa (plebs) maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod & ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut Sacerdos plebe præsentè sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur.

Ibid. pag. 166. Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina, & Apostolica observatione observandum est, & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, & ferè per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui Præpositus ordiatur, Episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur plebe præsentè, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, & unicuique actum de ejus conversatione perspexerit.

Those that are curious may observe many other the like differences betwixt the *Ancients* and the Church of Rome, in their *Customs* and *Ceremonies*.

Neither is there any whit less in their *Discipline*. One of the chiefest of these Differences, and which is indeed the Original of a great part of the rest, is, in the *Elections* and *Ordinations* of *Ecclesiastical Ministers*, which is the true *Basis* and *Ground-work* of the *Discipline* and *Ministry* of the Church. It is clear, that in the *Primitive* times they depended partly on the *People*, and not wholly on the *Clergy*, but every Company of the Faithful, either chose their own Pastors, or else had leave to consider, and to approve of those, that were proposed unto them, for that purpose. *Pontius*, a Deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, saith, that *St. Cyprian*, being yet a *Neophyte*, was elected to the *Charge* of *Rector*, and the *Degree* of *Bishop*, by the *Judgment* of *God*, and the *Favour* of the *People*. *St. Cyprian* also telleth us the same in several places. In his *111. Epistle*, speaking of *Cornelius*, he saith, That he was made *Bishop* of *Rome*, by the *Judgment* of *God*, and of his *Christ*, by the *Testimony* of the greatest part of the *Clergy*, by the *Suffrages* of the *People*, who were there present, and by the *Colledge* of *Pastors*, or *Ancient Bishops*, all *Good* and *Pious* men. And in another place he saith, that, *It is the People*, in whom the power chiefly is, of choosing *Worthy Prelates*, or refusing the *Unworthy*. Which very thing, (saith he,) we see is derived from *Divine Authority*, that a *Bishop* is to be chosen, in the presence of all the *People*, and

and is declared either Worthy or Unworthy, by the Judgment and Testimony of all. Therefore (saith he a little after) ought men diligently to retain, and observe, according to Divine Tradition, and Apostolical Custom, that which is also observed by us, and in a manner by all other Provinces: namely, that for the due and orderly Protecting in all Ordinations, the Neighbouring Bishops of the same Province are to meet together at that place, where a Bishop is to be chosen; and the Election of the said Bishop is to be performed, in the presence of the People of that place, who fully know every mans life; and by their long conversation together, understand what their behaviour hath been. And hence it was that Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia finding fault with many things in the Ordination of Athanasius, reckoned this also among the rest, that it had been performed without the Consent of the People. To which answer was made again, by the Council of Alexandria, that the whole People of Alexandria had all with one voice desired him for their Bishop, giving him the largest Testimonies that could be, both for his Piety and his Fitness for the undertaking that Charge. In like manner Julius, Bishop of Rome, among other faults which he found in the Ordination of Gregory, who had been made Bishop of Alexandria, adds,

That he had not been desired by the People. And it appeareth clear enough, both out of St. Hierome, and by the Acts of the Councils of Constantinople, and of Chalcedon, and also by the Pontificale Romanum, and several other pieces, that this Custom continued a long time in the Church. But it is now above Eleven Hundred and Eighty years, since the Church of Rome ordained, in the VIII. Council, (which notwithstanding hath been always unanimously and constantly rejected by the Eastern Church to

Julius ap. Athan. Apol. 2. pag. 748, 749.
 μη αὐτοβύβλα πρὸς πρεσβυ-
 τέρον, μη παρ' ἐπισκόπων,
 μη πρὸς λαόν, &c.
 Hieron. lib. 1. ad vers. Jovin.
 pag. 57. Tom. 2. & Com. 10.
 in Ezech. pag. 968. Tom. 4.
 & Com. in Agg. pag. 512.
 Tom. 4. & Com. 1. in Epist.
 ad Gal. pag. 271. Tom. 6.
 Conc. Const. 1. in Epist. ad
 Damas. pag. 94, & 95. Tom. 1.
 Conc. Genl.
 Conc. Chalced. act. 11. p. 375.

Tom. 2. Conc. Gen. & 28. 16.
pag. 430. &c.

¹ Pontific. Rom. in Ordinari.
Presbyter. fol. 38. vide supr.
l. 1. c. 4.

² Conc. VIII. Can. 22. Tom.
3. Conc. pag. 282. Neminem
Laicorum principum, vel
potentum semet inferere
electioni vel promotioni Pa-
triarchæ. vel Metropolitanæ,
aut cujuscunque Episcopi, &c.
praesertim cum nullam in ta-
libus potestatem, quoniam
potestativorum, vel extero-
rum Laicorum habere con-
veniat, sed potius silere, ac
attendere sibi, usque quod
regulariter à Collegio Eccle-
siæ suscipiat finem electio
futuri Pontificis.

this very day,) that the Promotions and
Consecrations of Bishops should be perfor-
med by the Election and Order of the Col-
ledge of Bishops only, forbidding, upon pain
of Excommunication, all *Lay persons* what-
soever, even *Princes* themselves, to meddle
in the Election or Promotion of any Patriarch,
Metropolitan, or any other Bishop whatsoever;
declaring withal, that it is not fit, that *Lay*
persons should have any thing at all to do in
these matters: it becoming them rather to be
quiet, and patiently to attend, till such time
as the Election of the Bishop that is to be chosen
be Regularly finished, by the Colledge of Clergy-
men. And thus have they by this one Ca-
non-shot beaten down the Authority of the
Fathers, and of the Primitive Church; who
always allowed to the faithful People some

share in the Elections of their Pastors: neither hath this
Custom been able ever since to lift up its head again; the
People being (as every man knows) now, more than
ever, defrauded of this their Right; and having not the
least share in the Elections, not of Popes, Primates, or
Archbishops only, but not so much as of the meanest Bi-
shop that is.

And as the People Anciently had their voice in the
Election of their Pastors; so probably also they had the
like in all other Affairs of Importance, that hapned in
the Church. There happening in St. Cyprian's time a very
great Persecution, many, who had been forced to yield
by the cruelty of the Pagans, being afterwards touched
with a sense of their fault, desired to return to the
Church again: but yet to avoid the shame, and the
length, and rigour of those Penances, which were
usually imposed upon all such Offenders, the greatest part
of them begged of their Confessors to be favourably
dealt withal, and corrupted their Priests, that so
they

they might be received again into the Communion of the Church, without undergoing *Canonical Penance*. St. *Cyprian*, who was a strict Observer of *Discipline*, wrote many things against this Abuse; by which it evidently appeareth, that the *People* had their Right also in the hearing and judging of these Causes. For in his *X. Epistle* he saith; ¹ that those Priests that had received any such Offenders rashly, and contrary to the *Discipline* of the Church, Should give an account of what they had done, to himself, to the Confessors, and to the whole People. And in another place, writing to the People of Carthage, ^m When the Lord (saith he) shall have restored peace unto us all, and that we shall be all returned to the Church again, we shall then examine all these things, presentibus vobis, & judicantibus, You also being present, and judging of them. And it is in this same Epistle, and touching this very Point, where he addeth that Passage, which we have before produced, in the Chapter touching the Corruption of the Writings of the Ancients. I desire them (saith he) that they would patiently hear our Council, &c. to the end that, when many of us Bishops shall have met together, we may examine the Letters and desires of the Blessed Martyrs, according to the Discipline of the Lord, and in the presence of the Confessors, and also according as you shall think fit. And hence it is, that in one of his former Epistles he protested to his Clergy, ⁿ That from his first coming to his Bishoprick he had ever resolved to do nothing of his own head, without their Advice, and the Approbation of his People. He that would yet be more fully satisfied in this particular, may read the *XIV. Epistle* of the same Father, and the *XXVIII.* touching the business of *Philumenus* and *Fortunatus*, two Subdeacons; as also the *XL.* touching the

¹ *Cyprian. Epist. 10. pag. 30.* Acturi & apud nos, & apud Confessores ipsos, & apud plebem universam causam suam.

^m *Id. Epist. 12. pag. 33.* Cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino prius data, ad Ecclesiam regredi cœperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula, presentibus & judicantibus vobis.

ⁿ *Cyp. ep. 6. p. 19.* Quando à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis meæ, privata sententia gerere.

^o *Id. epist. 14. & 28. & 40. & 59.* quæ scripta est nomine LXVI. Episcoporum: & epist. 68. & in præfat. Concil. Carthag.

the business of *Felicissimus*; and the LXVII. which he wrote to the *Clergie* and *People* of *Spain* joyntly, commending them for having deposed their Bishops, who were guilty of heinous crimes. But now that no man may think that this was the Practice of the Church of *Carthage* only, I shall here take occasion to inform the

Epist. quæ est inter Cypr. ep.
 31. Quanquam nobis in tam ingenti negotio placeat, quod & tu ipse tractasti prius, Ecclesiæ pacem sustinendam, & inde sic collatione Consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis Confessoribus, pariter ac stantibus Laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem.

Cypr. ep. 55. ad Cornel. pag. 121. Quanquam sciam frater charissime, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus & exhibemus invicem nobis, florantissimo illi Clero tecum præsentis, & sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere te semper literas nostras; tamen nunc & admono & peto, ut quod alias sponte atque honorifice facis, etiam petente me facias, ut hac epistola mea lecta, &c.

Reader, that the *P. Clergie* of *Rome* also approved of this Resolution of his, of bringing to tryal, so soon as they should be at rest, this whole business, touching those who had fallen, during the Persecution, in a full Assembly of the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Confessors, together with those of the Laity, who had continued constant, and had not yielded to Idolatry. And that which, in my judgment, is very well worth our Observation, is, that *St. Cyprian* himself writing to *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, saith, that He doth not doubt but that, according to that Mutual Love which they ought, and paid to each other, he did always read those Letters which he received from him, to the most Flourishing Clergie of *Rome* that were his Assistants, and to the most Holy and most numerous People. Whence it appears, that at *Rome* also the People had their Vote, in the managing of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

I shall not need here to add any more, to shew how much the Authority and Example of the Ancients in this Particular are now slighted and despised: it being evident enough to every man, that the People are not only excluded from the Councils and Consistories of the Bishops, but that besides, that man would now be taken for an Heretic, that should now but propose, or go about to restore any such thing. But I beseech you now do but a little fancy to your selves an Archbishop, who writing to the Pope, should say unto him thus:

Most

Most dear Brother, I exhort you, and desire of you, that what you are most honourably to do, of your own accord, you would now do it at my request: namely, that this Epistle may be read to the Flourishing Clergie, that are your Assistants there; and also to the most holy and most numerous People. Should not the writer, think you, of such a Letter, as this be laught at, as a senseless, foolish Fellow; if at least he escaped so, and met with no worse usage? And yet notwithstanding, this is the very Request that St. Cyprian made to Pope Cornelius.

But as the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergie, have deprived the People of all those Priviledges, which had been conferred upon them by Antiquity, as well in the Election of Prelates, as in other Ecclesiastical Affairs: in like manner is it most evident, that the Pope hath ingrossed into his own hands not only this Booty, which they had rob'd the People of; but also in a manner all the rest of their Authority and Power; as well that which they heretofore enjoyed, according to the Ancient Canons and Constitutions of the Church; as that which they have since, by many several admirable means, by little and little acquired, in the space of some whole Centuries of years. All this is now quite vanished, I know not how, and swallowed up by Rome, in a very little time. The CCC. XVIII. Fathers of the Council of Nice ordained, † That every Bishop should be created

by all the Bishops of that Province, if it were possible; or at Can. 4. † *Επι- least by three of them, if so be the whole number could not so conveniently be brought together: yet with this Proviso, that the absent Bishops were consenting also to the said Ordination: and that the Power and Authority in all such Actions should belong to the Metropolitan of each several Province. Which Ordinance of theirs is both very agreeable to the Practice of the preceding Ages; as appears by that LXVIII. Epistle of St. Cyprian, which we cited a little before; and was also observed for a long time after-*

† Conc. Nic.
Can. 4. *Επι-
σκοποι πρεσβυ-
τεροι παντες
αυτου της
Εκκλησιας
κατα το
εθος
καταστα-
σονται*

* Conc. Const. I.
in Ep. ad Da-
mas. p. 94. T. 1.
Conc. Gener.

afterward, by the Ages following: as you may perceive by the Epistle of the Fathers of the I. Council of *Constantinople* to Pope *Damasus*; and also by the Discourse of those that late *Presidents* at the Council of *Chalcedon*, touching the Rights of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in his own *Diocess*.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the whole World knows and sees, what the Practice of the Church of *Rome* at this day is, and how that there is not at all left to the *Metropolitans*, and to their Councils, any true Power or Authority, in the Ordinations of the Bishops within their own *Diocesses*; but the whole Power, in this Case, dependeth upon the Church of *Rome*, and upon those whom it hath intrusted herein, either with their own liking, or otherwise. And indeed all Bishops are to make their Acknowledgments of Tenure to the Pope; neither may they exercise their Functions, without his Commission; which they shall not obtain neither, without first paying down their Money, and compounding for their First-fruits, calling themselves also in their Titles thus; *We N. Bishop of N. by the grace of God, and of the Apostolical See*; of which strange Custom and Title, you shall not meet with the least Trace or Footstep, throughout all the Records of Antiquity, not so much as any one of all that vast number of Bishops, whose subscriptions we have yet remaining, partly in the Councils, and partly in their own Books, and Histories, having ever thus styled himself. And as for *Provincial* and *Diocesan* Synods, where Anciently all sorts of Ecclesiastical Causes were heard, and determined; as appeareth both by the Canons of the Councils, and also by those Examples that we have left us; as in the History of *Arius*, and of *Eutyches*, who were both Anathematized; the one in the Synod of *Alexandria*, and the other in that of *Constantinople*; they dare not now meddle with any thing, except some small, petty Matters, being of no use in the Greater Causes, save only to inquire into them, and give

in

* Conc. Trid.
Sess. 24. Decret.
de ref. c. 5. Minores
criminales Cause
Episcoporum in Concilio
tantum Provinciali
cognoscantur & terminentur, &c.

in their Informations at Rome. Neither may any, the meanest Bishop that is, be judged, in any Case of Importance, and which may be sufficient to Depose him, by any but the Pope of Rome: his Metropolitan, and his Primate, and the Synod of his Province, and that of his Diocese, (in the sense that the Ancients took this word,) having not all of them any Power at all in these Matters, unless it be by an *Extraordinary Delegation*, and having then only power to draw up the Business, and make it ready for Hearing, and so to send it to Rome: None but the Pope alone having power to give sentence in such Cases, as it is expressly ordained by the Council of Trent. *Ibid* *Causæ criminales graviore contra Episcopos. &c. quæ depositione, aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipsorum tantum summo Romano Pontifice cognoscantur, & terminentur, &c.*

I shall here pass by their taking away from the Bishops, contrary to the *Canons*, and Practice of Antiquity, all Jurisdiction, and power over a good part of the *Monastries*, and other companies of *Religious* persons, both *Secular* and *Regular*, within their Dioceses; Their assuming wholly to themselves the Power of *Absolving*, and of *Dispensing* in several Cases, which they call *Reserved Cases*; whereas in Ancient times this Authority belonged equally to all Bishops; as also their giving of *Indulgences*, and their proclaiming of *Fulgures*; a thing which was never heard of, in any of the first Ages of Christianity. And as for the *Discipline* which was Anciently observed in the Church towards *Penitentiaries*, whether in the punishing them for their offences, or else in the receiving them again into the Communion of the Church, it is now wholly lost and vanished. We have now nothing left us, save only a bare *Idleness* and shadow of it, which we meet with in the Writings of the Ancients, as namely in the *Canonical Epistles* of *Gregorius* *Nepotensis*, *of Basil*, and *others*, and in the Councils, both General and Provincial: Where are now all those several *Degrees of Penance*, which were observed in the Ancient Church; where some Offenders were to bewail their sins without the Church, some might stand and hear the word among the *Catechumens*; others

others were to cast themselves down at the feet of the Faithful: Some of them might partake of the *Prayers* only of the Church; and others were at length received again into the Communion of their *Sacraments* also? Where are those *Eight*, those *Ten*, those *Twenty* years of *Penance*, which they sometimes imposed upon Offenders? All this whole Course of *Penance*, some kind of account whereof we meet with in the Writings of the Ancients, is now wholly swallowed up by *Auricular Confession*, wherein no part of the *Penance* appears at all to the World.

And as these kinds of Punishments, which were most wholesome for the *Penitentiaries* have been quite abolished by them; so have they on the other side introduced other kinds of *Penalties*, which are indeed very beneficial and advantageous to the temporal Estate of the Church of *Rome*, but are most pernicious for the Souls of Offenders; such as are their *Interdictions*, when, for the offence (and that oftentimes too, rather a pretended, than a true one,) of one, or two single persons, or perhaps of a *Corporation*, They will Excommunicate a whole *State*, wherein there are perhaps many millions of people; depriving them of the benefit of partaking of the Holy *Sacraments*; which are the means, by which the Grace and the Life of *Jesus Christ* is communicated unto poor Mortals; an Example of which kind of proceeding I remember to have been practised by them, since my time, against the State of *Venice*. In what *Code* of the Ancient Church can you find, where any such strange kind of punishment was ever instituted, as that for the offence of a few, many millions of Souls should be damned? How can you call that Power *Aposolical*, that punisheth in this manner; seeing that the *Aposolical* Power was given for *Edification* and not for *Destruction*?

I would also very fain learn of any man, that could tell me, upon what *Canons* of the Ancient Church that

Bloody

Hammer to break open the door of those that must receive him. But our Saviour is so weak as that in manner of

teaching us. If any one will follow me; and, He that will
be my Disciple; Neither doth he contrain any one, that he
cometh unto, but rather standeth at the door of every one.

8 *Arrian*, *Apul.* 1. *de sua sua*,
pag. 716. *tom. 1.* Πότεν μὲν
δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δάκρυα; καὶ
μὴ, εἰ πάρος ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ
πολεμῷ. καὶ τὸ εὐδελὸν ἔ-
τα αὐτοῖς ἀνελυμένῳ, &c.
Καὶ τὰ ἀνελυμένῳ ὁ Κλεῖς
πρὸς τὰς, &c. 1. τὸν
πολεμὸν τὰ δάκρυα διαβολί-
κον ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χερσὶ, &c. καὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν τῶν
τῶν.

[illegible]

¹ Hilary, & Contr, Aug., p. 86.

At tunc pro dolor & dicit
nam fidem suffragia terrena
recommendant, inopie virtus
suz Christus, dum ambitio
nomini sup. conciliatur,
arguitur Terret exilis, &
carceribus Ecclesiæ, credis
sibi cogit, quæ exilis & car-
ceribus est credita. Pendet
ad dignationem Communi-
cantium, quæ persequentium
est consecrata terrore. Fugat
Sacerdotes, quæ superas
est Sacerdotibus propagera.
Dilige se gloriatur a mundo,
quæ Christi esse non potuit,
nisi eam mundas odisset.

these are the suffrages; who recommend the Faith in God: Christ is now become weak, and void of Power, and Ambition gains Credit to his Name. The Church terrified by Banishment, and Imprisonment, &c. She, that was conscripted by the Terror of her Persecutors,

depends now upon the Dignity of Christ, who are of her Communion. She, who hath been propagated by banished Priests, now her self banisheth Priests. She boasts now, that she is beloved of the World: who could not be Christ's, unless she, would bate her. Agreeable to what another of them saith; namely,

That the Church of Christ was founded, by Shedding of Blood, and by suffering Reproaches rather, than by Reproaching others: and, that it hath grown up by persecutions, and hath been crowned by Martyrdoms. Another also of the chiefest among the Ancient Fathers reproached an Arrian, for having made use of the Sword and Axe, in Ecclesiastical matters. Those whom he could not deceive by his Discourse, (saith he) he thought good to make use of his sword upon: uttering with his mouth, and writing with his hand Bloody Laws; and thinking that a Law can command men's Faith. And that you may not imagine, that he himself thought that lawful; which he found fault with in the Arrians, he says in another place that in a certain journey which he made into Gallia, he refused to communicate with those Bishops, who would have some certain Heretics to be put to death. The Emperor Marcianus in like manner, who called together the Council of Chalcedon, and was a Prince that was highly commended for his Piety, solemnly professeth that

¹ Hieron. epist. 62 ad Theoph. Tom. 2. pag. 274. Fundendo sanguinem, & patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est Ecclesia, Persecutionibus crevit, Martyrius coronata est.

¹ Ambros. epist. 32. Tom. 3. pag. 126. Qui (Axiemum) quos non potuerit sermone decipere, eos gladio putat esse feriendos; cruentas leges ore dictans, manu scribens; & putans, quod Lex fidem possit hominibus impetrare.

^m Id. lib. 2. 27. Tom. p. 106. Postea cum videret me abstinere ab Episcopis qui communicabant ei, vel qui alios devotos, licet à fide, ad necem petebant, &c.

ⁿ Marcian. epist. ad Archimandr. & Mon. Aeg. in Act. Conc. Chalcedon. T. 2. Conc. gen. pag. 453. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἡμετέρα γαλῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ σῶλον ἀνὰ γλῶσσιν ἐπαχθῶσαι πειστέτατον, ὥς ἡ ἰσχυροτέρη, ἡ σωματῆν, εἰ ἐβόλοιο ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀπειλαῖς, ἢ βία τινα πείσῃ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδὸν ἐλκεν βυλόμεθα.

* *Hujus epist. ad Constantium, apud Arian. in epist. ad solit. vit. ag. Tom. 1. pag. 839. τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου*, &c.

† *Hilar. lib. 1. ad Const. fol. 84. Deus cognitionem sui docuit potius quam exegit; & operationum cœlestium admiratione præceptis suis concilians auctoritatem, coactam confitendi se aspernatus est voluntatem, &c. Deus Universalitatis est; obsequio non eget necessario: Non requirit coactam confessionem.*

‡ *Ambros. Com. in Luc. lib. 7. pag. 99. Eos misit ad seminandam fidem, qui non cogerent, sed docerent, nec vim potestatis exercerent, sed doctrinam humilitatis attollerent.*

§ *Cyprian epist. 62. pag. 143. Tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc & circumcisio carnalis manebat. Nunc autem, &c. spirituali gladio superbi & contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesia ejiciuntur.*

¶ *Girolamo, Cap. sena nella vita di Pio V. p. 126.*

ced no man to subscribe, or to assent to the Council of Chalcedon, against his will. For, (saith he) we will not draw any man into the way of life by violence or by threats. And indeed ° *Hofius*, Bishop of Corduba, long before testified, that the most Catholick Emperour *Constantine* never compelled any man to be Orthodox. And this is the course, which is approved of by all the Ancients. P *God* (saith *St. Hillary*) bath rather taught us the knowledge of himself, than excited it of us; and authorizing his Commandments by the wonderfulness of his heavenly works, he bath refused to force us to confess his Name, &c. He is the God of the whole world; He bath no need of a compelled obedience; He requireth not any forced confession. Which are the Reasons this Author brought, with some other the like, to dissuade the Emperour *Constantine* from using violence, and forcing the Consciences of Men.

St. Ambrose saith; † *Christ sent his Apostles to plant the Faith; not that they should compel, but that they should instruct men; not that they should exercise the force of Power, but that they should promote the Doctrine of Humility.* And hence is that which *St. Cyprian* hath, comparing the manner of pro-

ceeding in the *Old Testament* with that of the *New*: † *Then* (saith he) *the proud and the disobedient were cut off by the fleshy Sword, Now they suffer by the spiritual, being thrown out of the Church.* Certainly then they still live, at this very day, under the *Old Testament* in *Spain* and *Italy*, and all those other places, where the *Inquisition* is in force: and, I believe, he would find a very hard Task of it, that should take in hand to reconcile this Passage of *St. Cyprian* to that Opinion of *Pope Pius V.* who said, that

that Bishops might have their Officers, and Executioners of Justice, for the Causes that appertained to their Jurisdiction; and might put their Sentences in Execution against Offenders; and, that the reason of their having recourse upon all occasions to the *Secular Powers*, was, not because the Church could not make use of its own proper Officers of Justice in such Cases, but rather because it had no such; or if it had, they were so weak, and so few in number, as that for the suppressing and punishing of Delinquents, it would however stand in need of the assistance of the *Temporal Power*.

I shall shut up this Point with *Tertullian*, the most ancient Author of the Latine Church, whom *Pamelius* (as we have touched before) will needs have us believe to have been a Persecutor of Hereticks; who yet was a man, that would not allow a Christian so much as to draw a sword, neither in war against a Publick Enemy, nor yet in discharging the Office of a Magistrate upon Offenders; whom all Civil Laws whatsoever punish with death.

Let us now therefore see what he says, touching Religion. * Consider (saith he to the Pagans)

whether this be not to add to the Crime of Irreligion, to take away the Liberty of Religion, and to interdict a man the choice of his God. By not suffering him to worship, whom he would; but to compel him to worship, whom he would not. There is none, no not among men, that takes pleasure in being served by any against their will. And some few Chapters afterward: ^b This is a thing (saith he) that seemeth very unjust, that Free-men should be constrained to do sacrifice against their will. For, in the performing of service to God, a willing heart is required. And in another Book, but speaking of the same thing, he saith: ^c It is a Point of Humane

^a *Tertul. Apolog. c. 24. p. 38.* Videte enim ne & hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis, & interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim, sed cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab invito coli veller, ne homo quidem.

^b *Id. Apolog. sup. 28. pag. 61.* Quoniam autem facile iniquum videtur, liberos homines invitos urgeri ad sacrificandum. Nam & aliis divinz rei faciendæ libens animus inducitur.

^c *Idem lib. ad Scapul. c. 2. Ta-*

Right

tamen humani juris, & naturalis potestatis est, unicuique quod putaverit colere: nec alii abest, aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi; cum & hostia ab animo libenti expostulatur.

Right, and a Natural Power, that every man hath to worship, that which he thinks fit. The Religion of another, man neither hurteth, nor profiteth any one. Neither is it indeed the part of Religion, to compel Religion; which ought to be entertained willingly, and not by force; forasmuch as Sacrifices themselves are required only from willing minds.

Upon which passage of his Pamelius gives us a marvellous, rare gloss, saying, That we ought not indeed directly to compel men to our Religion, but yet we may punish them, if they will not change their opinion. Certainly he thinks it is no Compelling of a man, to force him to do a thing under pain of Death. Let any man, that can reconcile the Practice of the Inquisition, and the Popes Thunderbolts against King Henry VIII. and his Daughter Queen Elizabeth, and against some of the Kings of France also, to this constant opinion of all Antiquity.

Now after they have thus boldly slighted the Believers, the Ceremonies, and the Disciplines of the Ancients, by changing, and abolishing whatsoever they have thought good; with what face can they still cry up the Fathers, and assege their Testimonies, and besides place them upon the Seat of Iudicature, and make them the Judges of our Differences? Or although they will do thus, who would not be ready here, to bring against them those words of Tertullian, which he made use of in another the like Case, and I would be very glad, (saith he) that these great, and most religious Defenders of their Masters, should be the same, and touching their own consciences, and obedience towards the constitutions of their Masters, whether they be since departed from, and forsaken some of these, or whether they have not yet quit those things, which are necessary, and most useful in their Science?

ence? What is become of those Ancient Laws? &c. Where is the Religion? Where is the Reverence which is due from you to your Ancestors? You have renounced your Fore-Fathers, both in your Habit, Apparel, Manner of Life, Opinion, and in your very Speech also. You are always crying up Antiquity, yet every day your selves take up a New manner of Life. Whether therefore they of the Church of Rome have upon Just Grounds dealt thus with the Ancients, or not; it serves my turn however to conclude, That by this their Proceeding they have given us a sufficient Testimony, that they do not account their Authority Supreme in Matters of Religion. And if so, what Reason have they to urge it for such, against the Protestants? Seeing they have weakned the Authority of so many of those Judgments, touching Points of Religion, which have been given by the Fathers, how can they expect that their Authority should pass for Authentick in any one? Let us suppose for instance, that they held, that there was such a Place as Purgatory. But by your Favour, (will the Protestant say) if you have found their Belief to be so erroneous touching the State of the Souls of Departed Saints, till the Day of the Resurrection; why would you impose upon me a Necessity of subscribing to what they held touching Purgatory? The Laws of Disputation ought to be equal; and therefore if you, by examining this Opinion of the Fathers by Reason, and by the Scriptures, have found it to be Erroneous; why will you not give us leave to try that other, touching Purgatory, by the same Touch-stone? Certainly, should we but speak the Truth, it is the plainest mocking of the World that can be, to cry out, as these Men do continually, *The Fathers, The Fathers*, and to write so many whole Volumes upon this Subject, as they have done; after they have so dealt with them, as you have seen. And if it be here objected, That the Protestants themselves do also reject many of those Articles which we have before set down; we answer, That this is nothing

ib. p. 33. ubi religio? ubi veneratio majoribus debita a vobis? Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu ipso denique sermone proavis renuntiastis: laudatis semper antiquitatem, & nove de die vivitis.

at all to the purpose; forasmuch as they take the *Scriptures*, and not the *Fathers*, for the Rule of their Faith; neither do they press any Man to receive any thing from the hands of the *Ancients*, unless it be grounded upon the *Word of God*. And if, lastly, you say, That the Authority of the *Fathers* hath no place, nor is at all considerable, in the Points before set down, because that the *Church* hath otherwise determined touching the same; this is clearly to grant us that which we would have, namely, That the Authority of the *Fathers* is not *Supreme*. And as for the *Church*, that is to say, how far the Authority of it extends in these things, this is a New Question to be disputed of, which I shall not meddle withal at this time. Only thus much I shall say, That what Authority soever you allow it, whether Little, or Much, you will still find, that it will very hardly be able to do any thing, touching the Decision of our present Controversies; forasmuch as you can never be able to make any use or benefit of this Position, till such time as you are assured, both *What*, and *Where* the *Church* is; seeing that the *Protestants* flily deny, That it is That which appears at this day at *Rome*; and the greatest Difficulty of all consisting in the Demonstrating this unto them. For, if they did but once believe, that the *Church of Rome* was the *True Church*, they would immediately joyn themselves with it; so that there would not henceforth be need of any further Dispute.

We shall here conclude therefore, That the Alledging the Testimonies of the *Fathers*, upon the Differences that are at this day in Religion, is no proper Course for the Decision of them, seeing it is no easie matter to discover what their Judgment hath been touching the same, by reason of the many Difficulties that we meet with in the Writings of the *Ancients*: neither is it of so sufficient Authority in it self, as that we may safely build our Belief upon it; since the *Fathers* themselves have been also subject to Errour: neither, lastly, is it of any force, either against

against the one, or the other Party; seeing that they both regulate, and examine the *Opinions, Ceremonies, and Discipline* of the *Ancients*; the One by the Rule of the *Scriptures*, and the Other by that of the *Church*.

But here I find, that upon this Conclusion, Two Questions may arise. For, seeing that the alledging the *Fathers* is not sufficient for the deciding of those Points that are now in debate amongst us; it may be demanded, in the first place, What other Course we ought to take, for the attaining to the Truth in these Controversies? And then secondly, How, and in what Cases the Writings of the Fathers may be useful unto us? Now although both these Questions are without the compass of our present Design, yet notwithstanding, in regard they so nearly border upon it, we shall in the last place say a word or two in answer of them.

As for the First, it would be a hard matter, in my Judgment, to find out a better way for Satisfaction herein, than that which one *Scholarius*, a Greek, who is very highly accounted of by those who printed the General Councils at Rome, hath proposed. This Learned Man, in a certain Oration of his, which he made at the Council of Florence, for the facilitating of the Union which was then treated of betwixt the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, and was afterwards concluded on, lays down for a Ground, first, *That we ought not to reject all those things which are not clearly, and in express Terms delivered in the Scriptures; which is a Pretext and Shift that many of the Hereticks make use of: but that we ought to receive with equal Honour, whatsoever directly followeth from that which is said in the Scriptures;*

*Scholar. Orat. 3. T. A Conc. Gen. p. 650. Καὶ πρῶτα μὴ μὴ πάν-
τα βίβλιν διαρρήδην λαμβά-
νῃν ἐκ τῆ γραφῆς· τὸ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ
πολλοὶ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ αἰρετικῶν
χρησισάμενοι τὸ προκαταμυσ-
σάμεν· ἀλλ' ἂν τι τοῖς ἔτοις λαμβάν-
οις ἀκούσθῃ, καὶ τὸ τοῦτο ἴσως
τιμῆς ἀξίον ὡσαύτως ἢ τι
τοῖς ἀληθέσι, καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσιν
ἐναντίον ὁμολογῶν, τὸ τοῦτο
μὴ δὲνα παρεκκλίνῃς τῆς ὁδοῦ.
Ἐποῖα δὲ μὴ σαφῶς ὁμοῦ
αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμῶν λαμ-
βάνειν διδάσκαλον, ἔξ ἂν ἀλ-
λοῦ περὶ σαφέστερον περὶ γραμ-
μῶν· καὶ τὸ τοῦτο τῶν ὁ-
μολογῶν διαφωνίαν ἐκφυγῶν
ἀπὸν περὶ τῆς, κυρίως τε, καὶ
χρησίου, καὶ διαφόρους ἐννοίας, καὶ τὰ
τοιούτῃ παρεκκλίνοντες.*

and to reject utterly whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to those things which are undoubtedly True. He says further, That In those things wherein the Scripture hath not clearly expressed it self, we must have recourse to the Scripture it self, as our Guide, to give us light therein, by some other Passage where It hath spoken more plainly. And after all this, he requireth, That we should use our utmost Endeavour fully to reconcile those seeming Contradictions which we sometimes there meet withal, in several Passages; to that purpose taking notice of the Diversity of Times, Customs, Senses, and the like. And going on, he saith, ^f That the Fathers of the Council at Nice after this manner concluded, by the Scriptures, upon the True Belief touching the Son of God. And then applying all this to

^f Ibid. p. 652,
653.

^g Ibid. p. 654. Τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἕκτον, καὶ τὰ μὲν διακρίνεται ἐν τῇ γενεῇ, ὁμολογῶνται ὅτι πνεῦμα πάντων ἡμῶν, &c.

his present purpose, he adds, ^g That the Scripture saith clearly and expressly, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father; and that this is agreed upon by both Sides, both by the Greeks, and the Latins: But that It hath not so expressly

declared it self, whether the Holy Ghost proceed also from the Son, or not: and that this is the thing now in Question, the Latins affirming it, and the Greeks on the other side denying it. ^h We ought therefore (saith he) to prove this, from some other things which are there more clearly delivered: Which he afterwards

^h Οὐκ ἔν τε τιναν ἄλλων τῶν σωτηρίας διὰ, εὐαγγελίου ἐκείνου λόγων;

performeth, and indeed, in my Judgment, very Learnedly, and Happily; proving this Doubtful Point out of other Passages that are more Clear. And this was the Judgment of this Great Person; which will not give any offence to those of the Church of Rome, because it came from one that was of their Side. Neither do I see what could have been spoken more rationally. And indeed, this is the Course that is observed in all Sciences whatsoever: If thy Adversary doubt

doubt of the truth of what thou proposest, thou art to prove it by such *Maxims* as are acknowledged and allowed of by him, making good that which is *Doubtful*, by that which is *Certain*; and clearing that which is *Obscure*, by that which is *Evident*. And this is the Rule that I conceive we ought to walk by, in the Disputes that are betwixt us at this day. The *Word of God* is our *Common Book*; let us therefore search into It, for that upon which we may ground our own Belief, and by which we may overthrow the Opinion of our Adversary. As for example, it is there said clearly and expressly, That that which our Saviour *Christ* took at his Last Supper, was *Bread*: and herein we All agree. But it is not at all there expressed, whether this *Bread* were afterward *changed*, or *annihilated*, or not. And this is now the *Question* in Dispute amongst us. We ought therefore (according to the Counsel of *Scholarius*) to prove this by some other things which are there delivered clearly. And if thou dost this, thou hast got the Victory: If not, I do not at all see why or how thou canst oblige any one to believe it.

In like manner, the Scripture telleth us, in as express Terms as may be, That our Saviour *Christ* commanded His Apostles to Take and Eat, and to Drink, that which He gave them in Celebrating the *Eucharist*. But It doth not at all say, that he commanded them to Offer the same in *Sacrifice*, either Then, or Afterwards. And this is now the *Question*: which it concerns those of the Church of *Rome*, if they will have us believe it, to prove by some other things, which are clearly and expressly delivered in the *Word of God*.

The Scripture in like manner saith expressly, That *Jesus Christ* is the *Mediator* betwixt God and Man: and, That He is the *Head* of the *Church*; and, That He purgeth us by His *Blood* from our Sins. Now in all this both Sides are fully agreed. But it is not at all there expressed.

pressed, That the *Departed Saints* are *Mediators*; and, That the *Pope* is the *Head* of the *Church*; and, That our Souls are in part cleansed from their Sins by the Fire of *Purgatory*. And herein lies the Controversie betwixt us. The Learned *Scholar* in his Opinion herein would now be, that certainly those who propose these Points as Articles of Faith, deduce, and collect them from some things which are clearly delivered in the Scriptures: for otherwise they are not to be pressed, as Truths. And although that in matters of Religion, or indeed in any other things of Importance, a Man may very well be excused for not believing a thing, when there appears not any such Reason as may oblige him to believe it; yet notwithstanding, if those who reject the Articles now debated betwixt us, have a mind to go further yet, and to prove positively the Falseness of them, you see this Author hath laid them down the way by which they are to proceed. He accounteth those very absurd, that require at your hands that you should shew them all things expressly delivered in the Scripture: and this ought principally to be understood of *Negative Propositions*, of which no Science giveth you any certain account: forasmuch as to go about to number them all up, would be both an infinite, and also an unprofitable, useless piece of Work. It is sufficient to deliver the *Positive Truth*. For, as whatsoever rightly followeth thereupon, is *True*; in like manner, whatsoever clasheth with, or contradicteth the same, is *False*. Wouldst thou therefore demonstrate those Propositions that are pressed upon thee, to be False? Do but compare them with those things that are clearly and expressly delivered in the Scripture. And if thou findest them contrary to any thing there set down, receive them not by any means. As for example, If a *Protestant*, not contenting himself with having answered all those Reasons which are brought to prove that there is such a Place as *Purgatory*, shall yet desire to go further, and to make it appear, that the Opinion is False; he is in this case to have

recourse

recourse to the *Scriptures*, and to examine it by those things which are there clearly and expressly delivered, touching the *State* of the *Soul* after it is departed this Life; and touching the *Cause* and *Means* of the *Expiation* of our *Sins*, and the like. And if the Opinion of *Purgatory* be found to contradict any thing there delivered, then (according to *Scholasticum*) it ought not to be received by any means. But the brevity which we proposed to our selves in this Discourse, permitteth us not to prosecute this Point any further.

As for the Second Question, it is no very hard matter to resolve it. For, although we do not indeed allow any *Supreme* and *Infallible* Authority to the Writings of the Fathers, yet do we not therefore presently account them *Useless*. If there were nothing of *Use* in Religion, saving what was also *Infallible*, we should have but little good of any *Humane* Writings. Those who have written in our own Age, or a little before, are of no Authority at all, either against the one or the other Party. Yet notwithstanding do we both read them, and also reap much benefit from them. How much more advantage then may we make, by studying the Writings of the Fathers, whose Piety and Learning was for the most part, much greater than that of the *Moderns*? *S. Augustine* believed them not in any thing, otherwise than as he found what they delivered to be grounded upon Reason; and yet notwithstanding, he had them in a very great esteem. The like may be said of *S. Hierome*, who had read almost all of them over; notwithstanding that he takes liberty sometimes to reprove them something sharply, where he finds them not speaking to his mind. Though you should deprive them not onely of this *Supremacy*, which yet they never sought after; but should rob them also of their *Proper Names*; yet notwithstanding would they still be of very great *Use* unto us. For, Books do not therefore profit us, because they were of such or such a Man's Writing; but rather because they

they instruct us in those things that are Good and Honest, and keep us out of Errour, and make us abhor those things that are Vicious. Blot out, if you please, the Name of *S. Augustine* out of the Title of those excellent Books of his *De Civitate Dei*, or those other which he wrote *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. His Writings will instruct you never a whit the less, neither will you find any whit the less benefit by them. The like may be said of all the rest.

First of all, therefore, you shall find in the Fathers very many earnest and zealous Exhortations to Holiness of Life, and to the Observation of the Discipline of *Jesus Christ*. Secondly, you shall there meet with very strong and solid Proofs of those *Fundamental Principles* of our Religion, touching which we are all agreed: and also many excellent things laid open, tending to the right understanding of these *Mysteries*, and also of the *Scriptures* wherein they are contained. In this very particular their Authority may be of good use unto you, and may serve as a Probable Argument of the Truth. For, is it not a wonderful thing to see, that so many Great Wits, born in so many several Ages, during the space of Fifteen hundred years, and in so many several Countries, being also of so different Tempers, and who in other things were of so contrary Opinions, should notwithstanding be found all of them to agree so constantly and unanimously in the *Fundamentals of Christianity*? that amidst so great diversity in Worship, they all adore one and the same *Christ*? preach one and the same *Sanctification*? hope all of them for one and the same *Immortality*? acknowledge all of them the same *Gospels*? find therein all of them Great and High *Mysteries*? The exquisite Wisdom, and the inestimable Beauty it self of the *Discipline of Jesus Christ*, I confess, is the most forcible and certain Argument of the Truth of it: yet certainly this Consideration also is, in my Opinion, no small proof of the same. For, I beseech you, what Probability is there, that

that so many Holy Men, who were endued (as it appeareth by their Writings) with such Admirable Parts, with so much strength and clearness of Understanding, should all of them be so grossly overseen, as to set so High a Price, and Esteem upon this *Discipline*, as to suffer, even to Death for it; unless it had in it some certain Heavenly Virtue, for to make an Impression in the Souls of Men? What likelihood is there, that Seven, or Eight Dogs, and as many Atheistical Hogs, that Bark, and Grunt so Sottishly, and Confusedly against This Sacred, and Venerable Religion, should have better luck in lighting upon the Truth, than so many Excellent Men, who have all so Unanimously borne Testimony to the Truth? As for *Atheists*, their Vicious Life ought to render their Testimony suspected to every one; notwithstanding they may be otherwise (as indeed they conceive themselves to be) Able Men. For, I beseech you, what wonder is it, if a Whoremonger, or a Bawd, or an Ambitious person cry down that *Discipline*, that condemneth these Vices to Everlasting Fire? that he that drowneth himself every day, and at length vomiteth up his Soul in Wine, should hate that Religion, which forbiddeth Drunkenness, upon pain of Damnation? The great Reason that these men have, to wish that it were False, must needs make any man cease to wonder at their pronouncing it to be False.

To take any notice of what such wretched Things as these say, is all one, as if you should judge, by taking the Opinion of Common Strumpets, of the Equity, or Injustice of the Laws that enjoin people to live Honest. But the case is clean otherwise with these Holy Men, who have so Constantly, and so Unanimously taught the Truth of the Christian Religion. For seeing they were Men, born, and brought up in the very same Infirmities with other men; we cannot doubt but that they also Naturally had strong Inclinations to those vices, which our Saviour Christ forbiddeth, and very little Affection to those Virtues, which He commandeth. For as much therefore, as not-

withstanding all this. They have yet all of them Constantly maintained that His Doctrine is True: Their Testimony certainly in this case neither can nor ought in any wise to be suspected. So that although They had not any of those Great, and Incomparable Advantages of Parts, and Learning above the Enemies of Christianity: Their Bare word however is much rather to be taken; than other Others seeing that these men are manifestly carried away by the force of their own vile Affections, of which the other cannot possibly be suspected Guilty. And as for those Differences in Opinion, which are sometimes found amongst Them, touching some certain Points of Religion, some whereof we have formerly set down: these things are so far from taking off any thing from the weight of Their Testimonies, as that on the Contrary, they add rather very much unto the same. For this must acquit their Consenting of all suspicion, that some perhaps might have, that it proceeded from some Combination, or some Correspondence, and Mutual Intelligence. When thou findest them so disagreeing among themselves, touching so many several Points; it is an evident Argument, that they have not learnt their knowledge from one another, nor yet have all agreed upon the same thing by common Deliberation; but have all of them collected in out of a serious Examination, and Consideration of the things themselves. And if we received no other Benefit by the Writings of the Fathers, than this, yet were this however very much.

But now, that the Benefit, and Contentment, which we shall receive from this Consideration, may not be interrupted and disturbed by our meeting with so many several *Private Opinions* of theirs, we are to take notice, that Christianity consisteth not in *Subtilties*; nor in the great number of *Articles*. The Efficacy of them is much more Considerable, than the Number. A great part of these Points of Faith, and the end of all the rest, is, *Sanctification*; that is, to say, *A pure worship of God, and A*

Hearty

the Right Use of the Fathers.

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Hearty Charity towards Men. Thou maist therefore boldly conclude, That Man to be a true Observer of This Discipline; that thou shalt find to have a True, and Right Sense, and Apprehension of these Two Points. Though perhaps he be ignorant of those Other, that he rather in *Speculation*, than in *Practise*, thou oughtest not to reject him for that. And if, being carried away with his own Curiosity, or some other reason, he chance to err in some of those other Articles, bear with him notwithstanding. As God forgives us our *Sins*, so doth He also forgive us our *Errors*. The *Hay*, and the *Stubble*, and the *Chaffe* shall be consumed: But yet He that buildeth therewith, shall be saved, if so be He but hold fast to the *Foundation*. Neither oughtest thou to be troubled, if thou now and then meetest with some *Ignorant*, or perhaps some *Erroneous* Passages in the *Fathers*, touching these Points. They are never a whit the less Christians for this; and may for all this, have been most Faithful Servants of *Jesus Christ*. There is not any *Face* in the World so Beautiful, but that it hath some Speckle, or Blemish in it. Yet is it not either the less esteemed, or the less beloved for this. The Natural condition of Mortal Men, and Things, is, to have some Mixture in it of Imperfection.

But now, besides what hath been hitherto said, we may, in my opinion, make another very Considerable *Use* of the *Fathers*. For there sometimes arise such troublesome Spirits, as will needs broach Doctrines, devised of their own Head, which are not at all grounded upon any Principle of the Christian Religion. I say therefore, that the Authority of the *Ancients* may very Properly, and Seasonably be made use of, against the Impudence of these Men: by shewing, that the *Fathers* were utterly Ignorant of any such *Fancies*, as these men propose to the World. And if this can be proved, we ought then certainly to conclude, that no such Doctrine was ever preached to Mankind; either by our Saviour Christ,

or by His Apostles. For what Probability is there, that those Holy Doctors of Former Ages, from whose hands Christianity hath been derived down unto us, should be Ignorant of any of those things, which had been Revealed, and Recommended by our Saviour, as Important, and Necessary to Salvation? It is true indeed, that the *Fathers*, being deceived either by some False manner of Argumentation, or else by some Seeming Authority, do sometimes deliver such things, as have not been revealed by our Saviour *Christ*; but are evidently either False, or Ill-grounded; as we have formerly shewed in those Examples before produced by us. It is true moreover, that among those things which have been revealed by our Saviour *Christ* in the Scripture, which yet are not Absolutely Necessary to Salvation, the *Fathers* may have been ignorant of some of them; either by reason that Time had not as yet discovered what the sense of them was; or else, because that for lack of giving good heed unto them, or by their being carried away with some Passion, They did not then perceive, what hath since been found out. But that they should all of them have been Ignorant of any Article, that is Necessarily Requisite to Salvation, is altogether Impossible. For, after this Account, They should all have been deprived of Salvation; which, I suppose, every honest Soul would tremble at the thought of.

I say then, and, as I conceive, have sufficiently proved in this *Treatise*, that an *Argument* which concludeth the Truth of any *Proposition*, from the *Fathers* having maintained the same, is very Weak, and Ill-grounded; as supposing that, which is Clearly False; namely, That the *Fathers* maintained nothing, which had not been Revealed by our Saviour *Christ*. For, this would be such a kind of Argumentation, as if a man should prove, by the General Agreement herein of the *Fathers*, that all the *Departed Souls* are shut up together in a certain Place, or Receptracle, till the *Day of Judgment*; or, that the *Encouragement* is Necessarily to be administered to *Lis-*

the *Infants*; and the like; where every one sees, how insufficient, and invalid this way of Argumentation is. And, to say the truth, such is the Proceeding of the Church of Rome, when they go about to prove, by the Authority of the *Fathers*, those Articles which they propose to the World, and which are rejected by the *Protestants*.

I say moreover, that to conclude upon the Nullity, or Falseness of any Article, that is not of the number of those that are Necessary to Salvation, from the general Silence of the *Fathers* touching the same is a very Absurd way of Arguing; as supposing a thing which is also Manifestly False; Namely, that the *Fathers* must Necessarily have seen, and Clearly known All, and every of those things, which *Jesus Christ* hath revealed in His Word.

Such a kind of Argument would it be thought among the *Franciscans*, if any one should conclude against them, from the Silence of the *Fathers*, that our Saviour *Christ* hath not at all revealed, that the Blessed Virgin *Mary* was conceived without Sin. But yet I confess again on the other side, that in those Points that are accounted as Absolutely Necessary to Salvation, an Argument that should be drawn from the General Silence of the *Fathers*, to prove the Nullity or Falseness of it, would be very Pertinent; and indeed Unanswerable. As for example, His manner of Argumentation would be very Rational, and Solid; that should conclude that those Means of Salvation which are proposed by a *Mahomet*, suppose, or a *David George*, or the like *Secularies*, are Null, and contrary to the Will of our Saviour *Christ*; (how much soever these Men may seem to Honour Him, seeing that none of the Ancient Christians speak so much as one syllable of it, and are utterly ignorant of all those Secrets, that these Wretches have preached to their Disciples, and delivered as *Infalible* and Necessary Means of Salvation. After this manner did *Irenaeus* dispute against the *Valentinians*, and

and other of the *Gnosticks*, who vented their own idle
 fables, and Absurd Issues of their Own Brain, saying,
 That the Creator of the World, was but an *Angel*,
 and, that there were above Him certain Divine Powers,
 which They called *Eones*, that is to say, *Ages*; some of
 them making more of these, and others fewer, and some
 reckoning to the number of CCCLXV. and an infinite
 number of other like Prodigies, never shewing any
 Ground for the same, either in Reason, or out of the
 Scriptures. * *Irenaeus* therefore, that he might make it
 appear to the World, that this so Strange Doctrine was
 produced out of their Own Brain only, goes about, and
 visiteth the Archives of all the Churches, that had been
 either Planted, or Watered by the Holy Apostles, turns
 over all their Records, Evidences, and Ancient Monuments,
 and these *Eones*, *Achamot*, and *Barbule* of the *Gnosticks*, no
 where appearing, nor so much as any the least Part, or
 Trace of them. He concludeth, that the Apostles had
 never delivered over any such thing to their Disciples,
 neither by Writing, nor by Word of Mouth, as these *Im-
 postors* pretended they had. For certainly if they had
 done so, the memory of it could not have been so utterly
 lost. This is also the Method that *Tertullian* followed,
 in his Disputations against these very Hereticks, and
 others the like, in the 22 Chapter of his Book *De Prae-
 scriptis aduersus Hereticos*, and in other places. The
 Practice of these Great Persons, who made use of it them-
 selves, will here serve to prove unto us, that this Course
 is Right, and Good.

And thus you see, that the Authority of the *Scriptures*
 is of very great Use in the Church, and sauerth as an *Out-
 ward* to the *Scriptures*, for the repelling the Presumption
 of those, who would forge a New Faith.

But forasmuch as those, who broach New Doctrines
 of their own Head, do Ordinarily slight the Holy *Scriptures*,
 as those very Hereticks did, whom *Irenaeus* con-
 futed,

* *Irenaeus* l. 3.
 Contr. Har. c.
 1, 2, 3, & 4.

Id. 3. c. 2.

fured; who impudently recused Them, *not being Right, and that they are of no Authority; and speak in very Ambiguous Terms, and that they are not able to inform a man of the Truth, unless they are acquainted with Tradition: the Truth having been delivered (as These men pretended) not in Writing, but by Word of Mouth.* For this Reason, I say, and for other the like, are the *Writings* of the *Fathers* of very great Use in these Disputes; and I conceive This to be one of the Principal ends for which the Divine Providence hath, in despite of so many Confusions, and Changes, preserved so many of them, down to our times.

If therefore the *Protestants* should propose, of their Own Head, and should press as Absolutely Necessary to Salvation; any Positive Article, which doth not at all appear in Antiquity; without all Question this Course might, with very good Reason, be made use of against Them. But it is most Evident, that there is no such thing at all in their Belief: for they maintain only such things, as are either Expressly delivered in the *Scriptures*; or else are Evidently deduced from thence; and such as have also been expounded, the greatest part of them, and interpreted by the *Ancients*, not in their own private Writings only, but even in their *Credo's* and *Synodical Determinations* also. They pretend not either to any Particular Revelation, or Secret Tradition, or any other New Principle of Doctrine. Their Faith is grounded only upon the *Old*, and (which is the Most Authentick Instrument of Christianity) the *New Testament*. Only in their Expositions either of the Doctrines therein Contained, or other Passages, They produce some few things, that are not at all found in the *Fathers*. But these things being not Necessary to Salvation, the Argument which is brought from the Silence of the *Fathers* herein, is not sufficient to prove the Fallacious of them. *Time, Experience, Aff-*

stance.

stance of others, and the very *Ereurs* also of the *Fathers*, having (as They say) now laid that Open to Them, which was Heretofore more Difficult, and hard to be discovered and taken notice of, in *Divine Revelation*. Who knoweth not that a *Dwarf*, mounted upon a *Giant's* shoulders, looketh higher, and seeth further, than the *Giant* himself? It would be ridiculous in any man that should conclude, that That which the *Dwarf* pretends to discover, is not at all in Nature, because then the *Giant* must also have seen it. Neither would He be much wiser, that should accuse the *Dwarf* of Presumption; because forthwith He hath told us that, whereof the *Giant* said not a word: seeing that it is the *Giant*, to whom the *Dwarf* is beholding for the greater part of His Knowledge. And this is Our Case, say the *Protestants*: We are mounted upon the Shoulders of that Great, and High *Giant*, *Antiquity*. That advantage which we have above it, by its means, enables us to see many things in *Divine Revelation*, which it did not see. But yet however this cannot be any occasion of Presumption to us, because we see more than it did: for as much as it is this very *Antiquity*, to which we owe a great part of this our Knowledge.

It is Certainly therefore very Clear, that as for the *Protestants*, and what concerns the Positive Points of Their Faith, they are wholly without the Compass of this Dispute. And as for those of the Church of *Rome*, They cannot, for the Reasons before given, make any Advantage of the Testimony of the *Ancients*, for the proving of any of those Points of Doctrine which They maintain, save only of those wherein their Adversaries agree with them: and therefore, if they would have us to come over to Their Belief, They must Necessarily have recourse to some other kind of Proofs. But yet I do not see, but that we may very well make Inquiry into *Antiquity*, touching many Articles, which are now maintained by those of the Church of *Rome*; and if we find, that the *Ancients* have not said any thing at all of the same

same, we may then positively conclude, That they are not to be accounted as any part of the *Christian* Religion. I confess, that there are some of them, against which this Argument is of no force at all; as namely, those which they do not account *Necessary* to Salvation, and which both the *Ancients* heretofore might have been, and we also at this day may be ignorant of. But certainly, this Argument, in my Judgment, would be utterly unanswerable, against such Points as they press as *Necessary*, and whereon indeed they would have our Salvation wholly to depend: As for Example, The *Supreme Authority* of the *Pope*, and of the *Church* which owneth him as Its Head; The *Adoration* of the Holy Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; the *Sacrifice* of the *Mass*; the *Necessity* of *Auricular Confession*, and the like. For, if so be they are of so great Importance, as they would make us believe, it would be a Point of high Impiety to say, That the *Fathers* knew not any thing at all of them; in like manner as it would be a most absurd thing to maintain, That though they did know them, they would not yet speak any one word of them, in all those Books which we have of theirs at this day. And, if they had said any thing at all of them in their Writings, we have no reason in the World to suspect, that possibly those Passages, where mention was made of them, may have been raised out, or corrupted and altered by false hands; seeing that this Piece of Knavery would have been done to the disadvantage of those who had these Books in their Custody. We have rather very good reason to suspect, that whatsoever Alterations there are, they have been made in favour of the Church of *Rome*, as we have proved before in the First Book. If therefore, after so long a time, and after so many *Indexes* as they of the Church of *Rome* have put forth, and so great a desire as they have had to find these Doctrines of theirs in the Writings of the *Fathers*, and the little Conscience that they have sometimes made of foisting into the Writings of the *Fathers*, what they could not find there;

We can still notwithstanding make it appear, that they are not to be found there at all: After all this, I say, who can possibly doubt, but that the Fathers were ignorant of them? Who will ever be perswaded to believe, that they held them as *Necessary* to *Salvation*? And if they were not known to be such then, how can any body imagine, that they should at length come to be such now?

My Opinion therefore is, That although the Authority of the *Fathers* be not sufficient to prove the Truth of those Articles which are now maintained by the Church of *Rome* against the *Protestants*, although the *Ancients* should perhaps have believed the same; it may notwithstanding serve to prove the *Falseness* of them, in case that we should find by the *Fathers*, that the *Ancients* were either wholly ignorant of them, or at least acknowledged them not for such, as they would now have us believe them to be: which is a Business that so nearly concerns the *Protestants*, as that to be able to bring about their Design, I conceive they ought to employ a good part of their time in reading over the Books of the *Ancients*.

Onely it is requisite, that either Party, when they undertake so tedious and so important a Business as this is, should come very well provided of all Necessary Parts; as namely, of the Knowledge of the *Language*, and of *History*, and should also be very well read in the *Scriptures*, and, that they use herein their utmost Diligence and Attention, and withal read over exactly whatsoever we have left us of the *Fathers*, not omitting any thing that Possibly they can get; because a little short Passage many times gives a Man very much Light in the finding out their Meaning: and not think (as some, who much deceive themselves, do) that they perfectly know what the Sense and Belief of the *Ancients* was, because perhaps they have spent four or five Months in the reading of them over. But above all, it is Necessary that they come to this Business void of all Passion and Prejudication: which is indeed the greatest, and the most general Cause of that Obscurity

security which is found in these Writings of the Fathers; whilst every one endeavours to make them speak to his sense; whereas in the greatest part of these Points of Religion which are now contróverted amongst us, these Ancient Authors really believed much Less than the one Party doth, and some little matter More than the other doth: and there are but a very few Points of all this number, wherein they are fully and absolutely of the same Judgment that either of the Two Parties is. Neither is it sufficient in this Business to take notice of such Testimonies as either positively affirm or deny those things which we look after; because that how clear soever they perhaps may be, it will go very hard but a quick Wit will find something to darken the sense of them: as you may observe in all Books of *Controversies*, where you shall have them so baffle, and make nothing of such Testimonies as are brought against them out of the Ancients, as that you would hardly know what to hold to. But you must also observe, what the Necessary *Consequences* are of each particular Article; it being impossible to conclude upon any One Point, that is of any Importance, but that there will presently follow upon it divers *Consequences*, as well within, as without the Church.

As for example: you are to consider what the *Consequences* are of the *Transubstantiation* of the *Eucharist*, as it is now held by the Church of Rome; of *Purgatory*; and of the *Monarchical Authority* of the *Pope*: and when you have observed them well, you are then to mark, in reading the Books of the *Ancients*, whether they appear there in Whole, or in Part. For, if you find them not there at all, it is a most Certain Argument, that the Doctrine from whence they proceed, and upon which they follow, is *New* and *Unsound*. But I shall not proceed any further in this Discourse, since divers have already treated hereof at large; it being, in my Judgment, no hard matter to collect, from what we have here delivered, how we ought to read the *Fathers*.

F I N I S.